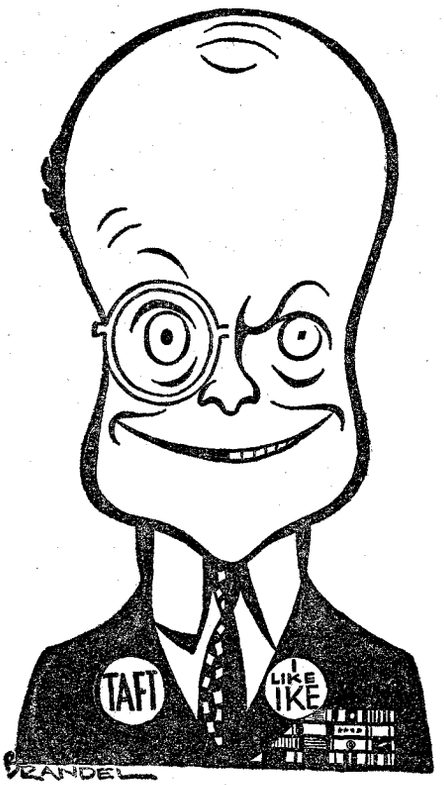
U.N. or NATO?—*J. Alvarez del Vayo*

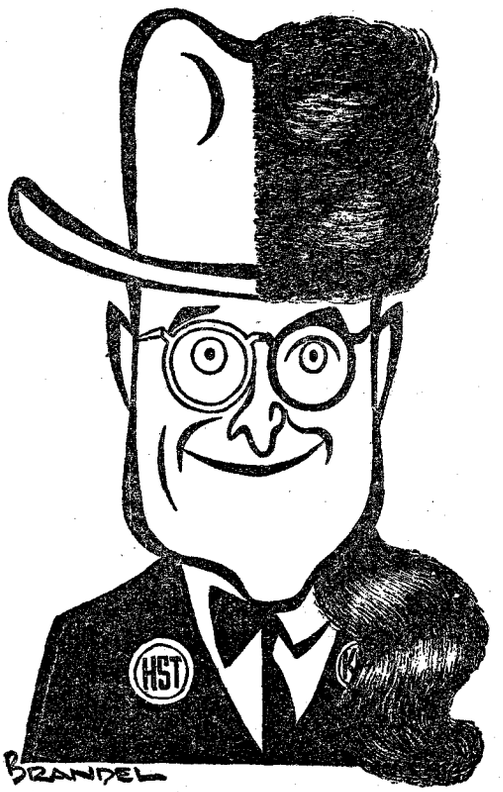
THE Nation

March 22, 1952

Mr. Republican?



Mr. Democrat?



Wisconsin Previewed

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

New Hampshire Reviewed

BY JOHN P. MALLAN

20 CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Wiggins Case

Minneapolis

THE University of Minnesota's release of Dr. Forrest O. Wiggins, instructor in philosophy, last December 12 might have gone unnoticed had Dr. Wiggins not been a radical and a Negro—the first Negro, in fact, to receive an appointment to a state school in Minnesota. For these reasons his "non-reappointment," the term used by the university, touched off a statewide reaction and has since attracted national attention.

Early in 1951, as the legislature began hearings on the university's budget, Forrest Wiggins delivered a lecture on "The Ideology of Interest" before a group of students from such organizations as the American Fellowship and the Young Women's Christian Association. The lecture was one of a series given under the heading "Conflict in the Social Order." No eyebrows were raised at the time, but when the hearings on the budget got under way several days later, copies of the lecture were on the desk of every legislator. The legislature's decision to cut the university's budget was felt by some officials to be the result of the views Wiggins expressed, and it was rumored that his days at the university were numbered.

In November, when recommendations for promotions were in order, Dr. George P. Conger, chairman of the Department of Philosophy, requested, as he had done several times before, that Dr. Wiggins be advanced to the rank of assistant professor. Dean W. W. McDiarmid deferred action. Dr. Conger then suggested to Wiggins that he prepare a personal credo which could be presented to the Dean. Wiggins did so, and Dean McDiarmid, after reading it, asked him to demonstrate wherein his position differed from that of the Communist Party. Wiggins immediately objected that since he was not a Communist he could not very well demonstrate the points of difference between his position and the shifting line and tactics of the Communists. He also took exception to the whole attempt to test the political beliefs of an instructor. For a time the question of his promotion remained in abeyance. Finally the Dean told Dr. Conger that he was not going to recommend Wiggins for reappointment. A little later he recommended that Wiggins be dismissed on the ground of "incompetence."

St. Paul and Minneapolis papers featured Dean McDiarmid's statement that in his opinion Dr. Wiggins's continuance was "not justified either on the basis of his scholarship or potential contributions to the Philosophy Department." Several legislators hailed the decision with enthusiasm. One said: "Academic freedom, of which we hear and read so much, is not to be preserved at all costs —for it has its limitations." Significantly this legislator claimed that Dr. Wiggins had been "a source of embarrassment to the university, humiliation to the citizens of the state, and confusion to the student body." No mention was made of incompetence.

The students were overwhelmingly for Wiggins. Dr. Conger issued an impressively documented statement demanding his retention. His scholarship and teaching ability were indorsed in flattering testimonials from colleagues and students. The charge that he had failed to give evidence of creative scholarship—that is, published articles in the learned journals—was challenged by reference to the fact that he had initiated six new courses in philosophy in as many years. Men like Luther Youngdahl, former Governor of Minnesota, now a federal judge, had often appeared as guest lecturer in Dr. Wiggins's courses. "On the eve of my retirement," Dr. Conger wrote, "I can sincerely say that if I can feel I have left behind me a group of students who feel a fraction of the admiration and respect for me that these students have expressed for Dr. Wiggins, I shall retire a happy man."

Some 250 students, representing a broad base of twenty-two different campus associations, protested the dismissal. After obtaining more than 2,300 signatures to a petition for Dr. Wiggins's return, they presented it to President J. L. Morrill, who expressed some interest in its "wording" but questioned its relevance.

Finally the outside community began to register objections to the university's decision. At a mass rally on the campus a member of the legislature spoke in favor of Wiggins's reappointment. A spokesman for the A. F. of L. related the dismissal of Wiggins to the cuts made in the budget. The secretary of one of the state's largest C. I. O. unions also publicly supported Wiggins.

While it is true that the legislature passed other "economy" measures, one Minnesota resident has pointed out that the $200,000 cut in university funds was hardly a significant saving in a total state budget of $30,000,000. The same observer insists that the Wiggins case cannot be isolated from the legislative threat to enact a stringent loyalty-oath bill for teachers if some schools are not "cleaned up."

There seems little hope of reversing the decision against Dr. Wiggins, but the efforts in his behalf have accomplished one thing. Those who control education have been made aware that the people are becoming concerned over the inroads on academic freedom. It is no longer enough to brand a teacher a red to justify his dismissal. In fact, it is probably better tactics nowadays to trump up other charges, no matter how flimsy they may be. Those who would destroy freedom in the name of freedom know this, and the defenders of freedom must therefore test very strictly the bona fides of those who drop instructors for "incompetence."

DICK BRUNER

[*Dick Bruner is a reporter for the Mankato* Free Press.]

Coming Soon in The Nation

Jim Crow, M. D.

The story of the fight to end discrimination against the Negro in the medical profession as reported by Robert M. Cunningham, Jr., editor of *Modern Hospital* magazine. "It is important to remember that the doctor and hospital engaging in discriminatory selection are often victims as well as culprits," writes the author. "It is by no means true, however, that they are helpless to do anything about eliminating discrimination. . . . There is heartening evidence that this is not the case."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 174 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 22, 1952 NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

THE MIDDLE GROUP OF LABOR MEMBERS OF Parliament did good service to their party last week when they hastily improvised a ladder which enabled both Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevan to descend from their high horses. There had been a real risk of a party split when Bevan and some forty of his followers ostentatiously abstained from supporting an official Labor amendment which approved the defense program in principle but expressed no confidence in the government's ability to implement it. This was a breach of party discipline which no leader could overlook. However, Mr. Attlee's reported intention to present the rebels with an ultimatum requiring them to pledge support of majority decisions on pain of expulsion was unnecessarily provocative. So too was Bevan's public threat to take a walk if the party refused to accept his views on rearmament. It was under these circumstances that the moderates, led by such men as James Griffiths, John Strachey, and George Strauss, drafted a resolution which after censuring the Bevanites indirectly proposed the adoption of "such standing orders as will make it obligatory on all members to carry out decisions of the Parliamentary Party, taking into account the traditional conscience clause." This resolution, passed by a large majority of the Labor M. P.'s and later indorsed by the party's National Executive Committee, let the Bevanites off with a warning.

*

NOW THAT BEVAN, A HOT-TEMPERED MAN, has had time to cool off, he should be grateful to the moderates. Had he been forced to back up his threats, he would probably have found himself deserted by most of his followers, who are well aware that there is no future in splinter tactics. Besides, if he can curb his impatience, he will find time on his side. Already the rearmament controversy is becoming academic, for the trade crisis has given solvency priority over military security. The new budget, which Keith Hutchison analyzes on page 272, provides for a very modest increase in arms expenditure during the coming year, and it is almost certain that the original three-year program, which led to Bevan's resignation from the Labor government, will have to be stretched over four or five years. This relaxation of tempo is due to competition between defense and exports, with the imperative demands of solvency giving precedence to the latter. Britain must expand its foreign sales, and it can do so only by concentrating on products which require the same resources as armament manufacture. World markets for consumer goods have been shrinking, and now Britain's chief customers in the sterling area—Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—are imposing curbs on imports that will drastically curtail British shipments of automobiles, textiles, china, and so forth. This means a still heavier export load for the capital-goods industries, whose products remain universally in demand, reducing their ability to meet defense requirements. So Bevan has proved a sound prophet in his own country. Now, enlarging his horizon, he has called for a "third force" of Western Socialists which would hold the power balance between the United States and the Soviet Union. "Nye," it would appear, has just begun to fight.

*

THE SECOND ROUND IN THE "FAIR TRADE" battle is now being fought out before a subcommittee of the House Judicial Committee. The subcommittee has before it a measure to repeal the Miller-Tydings amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act under which fair-trade agreements could formerly be enforced against even non-signers in the forty-five states that had approved the principle of resale price maintenance. At the same time the Interstate Commerce Commission is considering a measure which, by amending the Federal Trade Commission Act, would get around the impasse created by the Supreme Court's decision last year that fair-trade contracts—the Miller-Tydings amendment to the contrary notwithstanding—could not be enforced against non-signers. "Fair trade" is a thorny political issue, causing division between groups that normally have much in common, as, for example, small business men and small farmers. One can be sympathetic with small retailers, convinced that they need the protection of fair-trade agreements against the cutthroat competition of the "chains," without being certain that fair-trade agreements are fair to the public or will, in the long run, insure the survival of independent retailers. Nor can there be much doubt that in some areas, such as drugs, the high retail prices fostered by the agreements bear heavily on low-income consumers. "The father who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 261
Russia's New Offer 263
The Strange Case of General Grow 264

ARTICLES

United Nations or NATO? *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 265
New Hampshire Reviewed *by John P. Mallan* 267
Wisconsin Previewed *by Carey McWilliams* 269
The Tory Budget and British Labor *by Keith Hutchison* 272
The Crisis in French Movies *by Madelon Berns* 273
The Problem: Guns and Butter Too *by Marver Bernstein* 275
The Japanese "Insecurity" Treaty *by Helen Mears* 277

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Handbook on Communism *by H. Stuart Hughes* 279
The Peacock Vein *by Howard Doughty, Jr.* 280
Startled, I Remember and Epitaph *by Mark Van Doren* 280
Introduction to Vedanta *by Felix Grendon* 281
A New Language *by Henry David Aiken* 282
Masters Old and New *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 283
Verse Chronicle by *Rolfe Humphries* 283
Books in Brief 284
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 285
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 285
Films *by Manny Farber* 286

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 288

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 457 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 288

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Editorial Director Carey McWilliams — *Director, Nation Associates* Lillie Shultz

Managing Editor: Victor H. Bernstein

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1952, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

needs drugs for his sick child," Assistant Attorney General H. H. Morrison pointed out at the opening session of the current hearings, "cannot go on a sitdown strike. It was never the American concept to say that he must simply refrain from buying articles which are price-fixed at a higher level than he can afford to pay."

*

THE EXECUTION BY FIRING SQUAD OF THE five Catalonian labor leaders, carried out in spite of the protest of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions and other non-Communist organizations, has aroused a great outcry, especially in Europe and Latin America. We are not among those who cherish the hope that American or any other influence will "liberalize" the Franco regime. Franco's fascism is the real thing, and the executions in Barcelona are only a continuation of twelve years of repression and terror. Nevertheless, we are profoundly shocked that Secretary Acheson in last week's press conference used all his persuasive eloquence to explain the benefits expected to flow from the dispatch to Spain of a new military mission and did not once mention the coming executions, already announced. If he was deceived by the lies of Franco propaganda into believing that the condemned leaders were Communists or "vulgar criminals," he should inform himself about the coming trials of additional groups of union men in Barcelona and in the Basque town of Vitoria. Particularly in the latter case it would have been utterly impossible to accuse Catholics and nationalist Basques. The charge against them is that they helped organize and lead the strikes last spring—this and nothing else. We are glad to note that a meeting of protest will be held on March 25 at Freedom House in New York, with Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, and others speaking.

*

BY A VOTE OF FIVE TO FOUR THE SUPREME Court last week upheld the right of the Attorney General to deny bail to alien residents who face deportation under the McCarran act. What this means is that in the war against Communists we have speeded up "justice" to the point where we are jailing people even before we try to find out whether or not they are guilty of anything. In passing, we might contrast this treatment with the leisurely justice meted out to another kind of resident alien—first-class aliens, so to speak—such as appeared as witnesses last year before the Kefauver committee. These included assorted thugs, goons, gangsters, and racketeers, all with police records as long as your arm, who never seem to be deported and who continue to enjoy all constitutional rights, including that of bail. Justice Black, one of the four who dissented from last week's decision, declared: "The denial of a right to bail under the circum-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stances . . . strikes me as a shocking disregard of the following provision of the Bill of Rights: Eighth Amendment's ban against excessive bail; First Amendment's ban against abridgment of thought, speech, and press; Fifth Amendment's ban against depriving a person of liberty without due process of law." The Senator from Nevada has certainly thrown a rotten apple into our barrel of civil rights.

*

IT IS SAFE TO PREDICT EVEN AT THIS EARLY stage that Washington will find reason to accept General Batista's coup d'état and recognize his regime. Our ideas of what constitutes a free nation and a legally established government have become mighty flexible these days, and, besides, Cuba's new Premier and "Chief of the Revolution" took the precaution, immediately after seizing power, of promising to honor all international agreements and back up the United States in case of war with Russia. As coups go, the Batista affair was, in truth, almost a model—accomplished with exemplary speed, deftness, and a minimum of turbulence. The two persons killed, the General carefully pointed out, were members of President Prio Socanes's palace guard. "The only blood that will be spilled," he said, "will be that of those who oppose us." What could be more reasonable? Even the carnival processions, the famous *comparsas* that run through Lent in Havana, were interrupted for barely three days. Opposition leaders and members of the deposed government were given guaranties of personal safety or safe conduct out of the country if they chose to leave; President Prio departed for Mexico City without even formally relinquishing his office. From this place of refuge he has promised to come back and restore a constitutional regime—when or how not specified.

*

A GOOD MANY CONGRESSMEN WHO LOVE TO roll juicy government scandals on the tongue seem to take strangely little interest in measures to promote cleaner government. Thus the President's plan for reorganizing the Bureau of Internal Revenue and putting virtually all its top officers under civil service quickly ran into trouble on the Hill, with many of the Administration's sharpest critics in both parties showing themselves indifferent or hostile. However, thanks to three young liberal Senators—Humphrey of Minnesota, Monroney of Oklahoma, and Moody of Michigan—the plan has won the approval of the Senate and will go into effect immediately. The opposition was made up in nearly equal parts of Southern Democrats and right-wing Republicans, whose spokesmen claimed that the reorganization plan was camouflage and that the President already had all the power he needed to eliminate corruption. Against these arguments the liberal champions urged the necessity for ending "a discreditable political patronage system" and challenged those "who talk corruption to vote against it." When the showdown came they won handsomely. Among the minority we note such names as George and Russell of Georgia, Eastland of Mississippi, Capehart of Indiana, Nixon of California, and, of course, McCarthy of Wisconsin.

Russia's Latest Offer

NO DOUBT there is an element of propaganda in the Kremlin's new draft of a German treaty. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the Soviet proposal delivered to the United States, Britain, and France on March 10 was not only unrhetorical and business-like in tone, but more realistic in content than previous missives from Moscow on this subject. At long last we have what may prove to be a serious offer, and we agree with the London *Times* that "the Western powers can hardly afford to dismiss it out of hand."

In a way this Soviet note can be regarded as a tribute to the progress that NATO has been making. It arrived soon after negotiations started at Bonn for the implementation of agreements reached at Lisbon for German participation in a European army and for restoration of West German sovereignty. It followed immediately on elections in southwest Germany in which the Socialists, campaigning on an anti-rearmament platform, made important gains but failed to defeat Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party. Thus Moscow finds itself facing the disagreeable fact of the integration of West Germany into the Atlantic partnership.

"Some Western observers," writes Joseph Newman in a London dispatch to the New York *Herald Tribune* of March 16, "have been convinced that the Russians would come forward with a serious proposal when Western unity and strength had reached the point which made it necessary for them to do so if only in their own interests. . . . The point at which the Russians might seriously propose a settlement on Germany was expected to arrive when they consider it to their advantage to surrender the eastern part of Germany, which they occupy, in exchange for renunciation of western Germany by the Big Three Western powers."

What is no doubt from the Russians' point of view the key clause of their draft treaty is a German pledge not to enter into an alliance against any power which took part in the war. Other provisions include reunion of the two Germanys, guaranties of a democratic regime with full political and civil rights for all, no limitations on the national economy, armed forces for self-defense with a limited war industry, and frontiers as determined by the Potsdam conference, where, in fact, no definitive decision on frontiers was reached.

Negotiation of the treaty, the note declares, must be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concluded with the participation of Germany, represented by an all-German government. But how is such a government to be organized except as the result of free elections? This is the crucial question and the one that the Western powers obviously intend to press as a test of Soviet sincerity. If the Russians are now prepared to allow genuinely free all-German elections under United Nations supervision—a plan at which they have balked hitherto—then a new situation has arisen. For since no one doubts that such an election would result in an overwhelming anti-Communist vote, it would mean that Russia is prepared to abandon its puppet government in East Germany and to make its first European retreat. That would be a great moral victory for the West even though the price paid for it was exclusion of Germany from the Western defense organization.

With so much at stake every effort ought to be made to probe Russian intentions in an effort to discover whether this démarche does offer hope of a mutually profitable deal. Perhaps a clue will be provided by the Soviet response to Allied proposals for an Austrian treaty, which embody agreements previously reached except in one particular—the disposal of the so-called German assets in Austria. Up to now, using Nazi seizures of Austrian resources as an excuse, the Russians have insisted on controlling Austria's oil fields, river shipping, and other valuable properties. Their abandonment of this claim, which is untenable legally and morally, would be a sign that they really wished to reach the kind of understanding with the West that would make possible the neutralization of Germany.

The Strange Case of General Grow

PERHAPS the most embarrassing thing about the publication of excerpts from General Robert W. Grow's diary was that they appeared just when the State Department was busy marking out bounds to curb the travels of Soviet diplomats in this country. The restrictions are an answer to the much tighter ones imposed on Americans in Russia; so technically they may have nothing to do with the behavior of a former military attaché in Moscow. But logically they have a lot to do with it. We are ready to admit that spying is a common avocation among foreign service employees. That it can also be a serious business, both the famous Russian espionage trial in Canada and the more recent case of Gubichev in the United States offers sufficient proof. Naturally it has to be guarded against, here as in Russia, and punished when detected.

But these truisms only point up the awkward implications of the case of General Grow. For the General, according to the scattered excerpts cabled over from Germany, noted down railroad bridges he considered good targets, license numbers of military vehicles, anti-aircraft artillery and other military installations suitable for bombing. In February and March, 1951, he was clamoring for immediate war. ("War! As soon as possible! Now." "We need a voice to lead us without equivocation: Communism must be destroyed!") He also had his ideas about tactics. ("We must start by hitting below the belt. This war cannot be conducted according to Marquis of Queensbury rules." "Anything, truth or falsehood, to poison the thoughts of the population.") Eventually we hope, the whole diary will trickle out through the East German or Soviet press. Meanwhile we know enough to say that the spying and warmongering of General Grow were not only a rich gift to Soviet propaganda; they provided a legitimate reason for restricting the movements of American diplomats, persuasive evidence that they are there to ferret out military secrets. It will take more than the recall of the General to undo the effect of his candid record of thoughts and acts.

What is needed is proof that the words of General Grow do not in the smallest degree represent the policy of the American government. So far the comments of the press and official Washington have been little more than expressions of annoyance over the naivete and carelessness of an official. In our view the Administration is far more to blame for the harm the incident has done than is the bellicose Grow himself. Either out of conceit and a sense of superiority or out of a mistaken wish to "save face" Washington has time and again failed to take measures which would wipe out the evil results of major official blunders. A much more serious incident was the Matthews speech in 1950 advocating a preventive war. For this monstrous provocation the Secretary of the Navy was gently rebuked, but he was not dismissed. As a consequence the whole incident was left in mid-air, and foreign observers were totally mystified. Could a member of the government actually make such a statement and still keep his post if the Administration's policy was a contrary one?

By way of contrast with the treatment of General Grow, consider the case of Oliver Edmund Clubb, recently cleared as a security risk by Secretary Acheson. The main count against Mr. Clubb was a diary which he, like Grow, had carelessly left about. It contained no such explosive matter as Grow's book, and it showed beyond honest doubt that Clubb was a loyal and devoted foreign-service officer. His fault was at worst a minor indiscretion. But Clubb's career was wrecked by the China Lobby and its henchmen in Congress. He resigned from the department the other day as soon as he was cleared. When the Grow diary was discovered its author was transferred to Washington and reassigned to the Pentagon. No doubt somebody there will pick up after him,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so no more papers will stray into hostile hands. But what business has General Grow in the Pentagon? Government workers are being fired for talking to the wrong people or reading the wrong magazines. Grow should be fired as the most extreme security risk one can imagine—for thinking and saying and acting on the belief that we should start a war against Russia. He should be fired as a warning to fellow warmongers and a declaration to the world that when Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson say we are working for peace they really mean it.

United Nations or NATO?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, March 14

A CLEVER diplomat like Lester Pearson, Canadian Secretary for External Affairs, realized at once how deplorable could be the consequences of the report that he had called the Atlantic Pact "the principal instrument for the defense of the free world," supplanting the United Nations as the main hope for peace. A few days afterward in New York he seized the first opportunity to deny that he had ever said such a thing. Other persons in high places have been less cautious. In the fourth of a series of articles currently appearing in the New York *Herald Tribune* under the title Eisenhower's Creed, Kevin McCann reports that the victor in the nation's first Presidential primary, writing to a long-time associate, had "made it very clear that in the absence of an effective United Nations as a vehicle for our foreign policy, he was pinning his hopes on the success of NATO." At the time he wrote this, General Eisenhower was not only the military head of the Atlantic coalition but in the view of many of his countrymen the next President of the United States. His position on the question of NATO versus the U. N. was therefore of the greatest importance.

Since the General is not a man who draws arbitrary or superficial conclusions, he gave the reasons for his views. "Our efforts in the United Nations," he said—Mr. McCann now quotes him directly—"have been defeated by vetoes of hostile groups, but in the Atlantic Pact we are not pledged by the hostile groups and are simply trying to work out a way that free countries may band together to protect themselves." This at least has the virtue of frankness. It is echoed by dozens of persons influential in international affairs and even by some who play leading roles in the United Nations—while speaking of it with a strange mixture of cynicism and resignation. Though lip-service is still paid to the "supreme international organization," we are in the presence of an attempt to replace the U. N., for all practical purposes, with NATO. The attempt should be exposed for the sake of the millions of people here and abroad who still take seriously the democratic slogans enunciated during the war and have therefore steadfastly supported the U. N. since San Francisco.

I have frequently criticized the work of the U. N. in these columns. But with all its faults and failures it is an organization for peace and should be protected against the encroachments of NATO, which may have purely "defensive" aims but is nevertheless a political-military alliance created for and geared to war. Perhaps I feel so strongly about the U. N. because I witnessed the collapse of the first attempt to establish a world organization. Reading recently the fine two-volume "History of the League of Nations" by F. P. Walters, one of the most distinguished members of the Geneva secretariat, I relived that tragic period. As a member of the Council I had struggled desperately to have international law applied in Spain; I had fought to keep the League from being destroyed by the Fifth Column which lurked within it even after the departure of Italy and Germany. Fifteen years later I find another Fifth Column in the U. N., the elements who prefer NATO, although they insist that they are working only for harmony and that both organizations serve the same ideal.

Paralleling the statements of high officials, a series of extremely illuminating comments have appeared in the American press. The financial weekly, *Barron's*, remarked on March 3 with startling frankness: "The Atlantic alliance, originally promoted as a mere 'regional agreement' under the U. N. Charter, is building into another strictly non-Communist League of Nations, which with the current addition of Greece and Turkey is not too strictly confined to the North Atlantic area." On March 9 Michael L. Hoffman said in a dispatch from Geneva to the New York *Times:* "Established in Paris near General Eisenhower's headquarters, NATO's permanent international secretariat will automatically eclipse in prestige and in attractiveness to ambitious civil servants the older and more tired international organizations that are relics of earlier efforts to group nations together for work in the common cause." Other commentators point out that it will be wonderful to have an organization like NATO, free of the incessant and fruitless discussions that go on in the U. N. They rejoice that through NATO the United States can carry out its mission of awakening the free world without embarrassment, even though the free world is not too pleased to be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Secretary Acheson

awakened to new economic crises, higher taxes, and the terrors of "bankruptcy"—to use the Tories' own word.

Barron's is equally outspoken about the principal reason why NATO should be preferred to the U. N.: "As the leading exponent of free enterprise and as the source of the major physical strength of NATO, the United States has both a moral and a material case for assuming the lion's share in the direction of its policies." The United States delegation has seen its authority threatened in the last two sessions of the Assembly, especially in last winter's session in the Palais de Chaillot, by the revolt of the small powers, but American leadership of NATO will not be challenged. At Lisbon, Secretary of State Acheson was able to gain acceptance of German rearmament and settle other thorny issues thanks partly to his own exceptional ability and partly to the absence of any real opposition to Washington policy.

In NATO, its enthusiasts say, we shall not be plagued by the veto. In the current effort to discredit the U. N. and promote NATO all the old objections to that device are being brought up. The famous *Nyet* of the Russians is cited by people prone to oversimplification as the chief cause of U. N. failure. But if anybody wants to know what is really the matter with the U. N., he should read "The United Nations and Power Politics," by John MacLaurin. The reader must decide for himself, Mr. MacLaurin says, "how to distribute the blame for the Council failures between the Big Five and above all between the Big Two"; and then he gives a quantity of factual data to help the reader to decide. "We should, however," he continues, "all be able to agree that the heavily popularized notion that it is the veto that has rendered the Security Council ineffective is not in accord with the facts. The trouble lies deeper."

Without denying the damage done by Russia's excessive use of the veto and its withdrawal from various agencies, including, in critical moments, the Security Council itself, I agree that the trouble lies deeper. It lies in the refusal to seek a rapprochment, in the theory that you cannot talk with the Russians, not today or tomorrow, and that any new Russian move—like the recent request for Big Four discussions on a German treaty—is only propaganda. Russian proposals are not thought worth a moment's consideration by those who are ready now to abandon the U. N.'s fundamental purpose—peace through diplomacy.

From the moment it was born NATO was a dangerous rival to the U. N. It should not have been, for though there are clever people in all the delegations who can read the Charter in a dozen different ways, Article 103 says very clearly: "In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail." The spirit of the Atlantic Pact from the beginning was irreconcilable with the spirit of the United Nations. Moreover, as the international situation worsened and as NATO appeared fatally destined to depend on a rearmed Germany as one of its principal props, the two organizations became inevitably the symbols of two opposing policies. The U. N.'s goal was still to resolve the issues dividing the two blocs: NATO's was to forge a weapon that could be used when the U. N. broke down.

Taking a broad view, Secretary Acheson did not feel his sincerity challenged by giving loyalty to both the U. N. and NATO. The duality could be resolved simply by introducing into the U. N. the policy of containment which was NATO's raison d'être. But there is no doubt, to judge by what happened in the last Assembly, that unless we see a diminution of present East-West tension, the U. N. will have less and less important functions to perform, while NATO will deal with all the issues generated by the cold war.

In the words of *Barron's*, NATO "is developing into something bigger than its original conception." It has just selected a secretary general. The importance of the new post is indicated by the appointment of Lord Ismay, a British soldier of great ability and experience and a close associate of Churchill. In the measure that the U. N. permits such important questions as Korea, German rearmament, Arab nationalism, and the "conclusion of outstanding peace settlements"—to quote a 1948 resolution—to be taken out of its hands, NATO will develop still further. If in 1952 the U. N. was unable to retain its prerogatives, two years from now NATO will certainly have the last word.

By that time its secretariat will be more influential than the U. N.'s. It will have big funds at its disposal. It will be backed by a coherent policy. Although there will be differences such as arose at Lisbon, they will not take the sharp form in which they have emerged in the U. N. as the result of the relatively free play of diplomatic debate. NATO is planning an economic section for defense which will compete with the U. N. Economic and Social Council; dreams about Point Four aid for backward countries will be transformed into strict

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

security programs. It will have a press and information section. In fact, it is branching out into so many fields that in a few years the work of the U. N. may well be reduced largely to that of its specialized agencies.

But overlapping and competition with the U. N. are not the most serious aspects of NATO's expansion. If men of the stature of General Eisenhower prefer NATO, they may cease to make any use of the U. N. to deal with the issues causing the present international tension. In that event not only Trygve Lie and his staff of three thousand but the whole idea of negotiation will go by the board. In the absence of machinery for conversations the two blocs will go on arming, in 1952, in 1953, and in 1954—the last, in the opinion of most American planners, being the crucial year. Under these circumstances the Western coalition will be able to further its policies only by military means, while Russia can always combine military with political methods—its continuing peace crusade, its repeated requests for a conference of the Big Four, its economic conference, its demand for the unification of Germany, other proposals. Thus it is to the interest of the West as well as of peace to prevent a shift of power which will destroy the U. N. as the League of Nations was destroyed—by preventing its effective intervention in decisive questions and undermining its authority.

New Hampshire Reviewed

BY JOHN P. MALLAN

Manchester, New Hampshire

TENS of thousands of words have been expended since the New Hampshire primaries in attempts to show (1) that voting in this tiny state foreshadows national trends, (2) that it does not. Whether New Hampshire is actually a trustworthy barometer will not be certain for some months, but in any case the same factors were at work here that we may expect to operate elsewhere in the nation. The people are much the same—business men, farmers, organization politicians, industrial workers—and they were subjected to much the same combination of issues and personal appeals as is used in all political campaigning.

Interest among New Hampshire's voters was at a high, and they were very conscious that the nation's attention was on them; the turnout was the largest in history in spite of blinding rain and snowstorms throughout the state. The widely publicized visits of so many national leaders and the peculiar nature of the state's journalism also helped to focus attention, as did the town meetings in practically all small communities.

In New Hampshire as elsewhere the startling defeat of President Truman has received the most attention. While the lack of real Truman organization was a factor, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that his defeat —the loss of all the large cities as well as most towns and the victory of the obscure Kefauver delegates over the party's entire state leadership—was the result of spontaneous dissatisfaction with the President's leadership. This dissatisfaction, which was really not well exploited by Kefauver, reflects not so much disagreement on domestic or foreign issues as a simple feeling that the Administration is tired and should be replaced with new blood. Corruption played some part as an issue but not very much, and it is safe to say that most of those Democrats will vote for Truman in the fall if he is the Democratic nominee. But plainly, they would prefer not to.

Despite journalistic reports to the contrary, the New Hampshire Democratic leadership is scarcely a "machine." There is no one in the party who can place a few calls and turn out the wards, as was shown so well on March 11. The party itself exhibits a rather interesting contrast of idealism and party regularity; it is perhaps the only state organization in the country which has been headed successively by two college professors. Both are from Dartmouth—Herbert Hill, the gubernatorial candidate in 1948, and Dayton McKean, an able political-science teacher who has also been active in New Jersey politics, where he wrote the classic treatise on Boss Hague.

Party leadership on the state level is generally of high quality; perhaps it can afford to be, since the party has held no important office for twenty years. In the mill cities, both leadership and interest in larger issues are usually lacking. A solid clan of French-Canadian politicians hold many city positions, playing a role somewhat like that of the Irish in Massachusetts. But anti-French sentiment among Protestant Yankees and Irish Catholics alike, in a state now one-fourth French, is so great as to be almost the equivalent of anti-Semitism. No French leader has yet been able to break through it and attain state power, not even Paris-educated Mayor Benoit of Manchester.

Ironically, both the state "idealists" and the city "regular" leaders were pledged to Truman; they were reasonably well satisfied with him and almost unaware of

JOHN P. MALLAN, a former resident of New Hampshire, teaches government at Northeastern University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not So Fast, Mr. Taft

THE hail-fellow-well-met-I'd-like-to-have-you-vote-for-me campaign fitted Kefauver. He loved it, and so did the voters. But it was not Taft's meat. He was uncomfortable, and showed it. . . .

One bit of presumption on the part of Taft's managers paid off in ill-will.

"Hear your next President!" the loudspeakers blared in announcing his street meetings.

More than once the irritation of the voters found expression: "Says who?" or "That's for us to say" or "Since when?"—*Journal-Transcript,* Franklin, New York.

other candidates. Only at the last minute, as they began organizing in response to Kefauver's highly successful stump tour, did they realize the great undercurrent of Democratic dislike for the President. Kefauver was supported by no one group of Democrats; he did almost equally well in rural areas and in the cities, among union and non-union members, in every ethnic group. Even the supposedly solid French shifted to him in as large numbers as any other group, and he carried most of the French wards in Manchester and Nashua. His very limited organization had only one formal headquarters and little money, most of his delegates were completely unknown, and only one or two prominent Democrats came out for him in the whole state. Yet his delegate slate, though scattered over a long and complicated ballot, defeated every party leader, including Kelley, Hill, McKean, and the mayors and ex-mayors of most of New Hampshire's leading cities.

It is rather unfortunate, in one sense at least, that the able and New Deal-minded state leadership has been defeated by men who cannot really be called "new blood"; in a crowd the Kefauver men would be indistinguishable from other Democrats. However, the regulars are not unfriendly to Kefauver and would join him if released by Truman; they are particularly happy that Kefauver has not attacked Truman in his speeches. The mysterious undercover campaign for Adlai Stevenson has made little headway in New England, where he is not known to one Democrat in fifty; there is a general feeling that Truman will have to produce him quickly, if at all, if he is to win support among either rank and file or leaders.

THE Republican primary results are a little less decisive than the Democratic; a sense of frustration is found in both Eisenhower and Taft ranks. Originally, the Eisenhower people had expected an easy victory, and they were genuinely alarmed at Taft's apparent gains in the last weeks of campaigning. His personal appeals in rural areas won many converts, as did his savage attacks on Acheson and Administration foreign policy. A Cheshire Cat photograph of Taft showing him grinning from ear to ear was used widely, and like a plain but determined woman he seemed to become more personally attractive each time one saw him. By primary day his supporters and many independent observers were quite certain he would get four to six of the fourteen Republican delegates and possibly a majority of them. Few of the seventy visiting reporters in Manchester were much surprised when he took an early lead, and his victory in all but two wards of Manchester, supposedly an Ike stronghold, was thought the clincher.

But Taft lost the other major cities and, to everyone's astonishment, many of the small towns. He was defeated by more than 10,000 votes, the New Hampshire electorate, contrary to universal expectations, carefully voting in every Ike delegate on a ballot more complicated than that used by the Democrats. The small-town defeat hit the Taft forces hard, and there is still no intelligible explanation for it.

The Republican Party has been left sadly divided; the campaigns became bitter in the last few days as Governor Sherman Adams, Eisenhower leader, charged that Stalin was hoping for a Taft victory and that this would in effect bring the Russian armies to the Canadian border. The Taftites attacked Eisenhower's alleged New Deal connections so vigorously that Representative Walter Judd of Minnesota, one of the Eisenhower traveling circus imported into the state, resurrected the old Bricker cry of "Taft socialism," maintaining that Taft's support of federal aid to education made him far more a New Dealer than Ike, who was the real conservatives' candidate—a statement that may well be true.

It is significant that both sides found it necessary to appeal to Republican Old Guardism. The primary in many ways was a continuation of the bitter feud begun in 1950 in the Senatorial fight between Charles Tobey and Wesley Powell. Powell, who spearheaded the Taft drive, was formerly Senator Styles Bridges's secretary and is still in close touch with Bridges, who cosily took no part in the Ike-Taft fight. Powell is perhaps best described as a reactionary mediocrity; alone among Taft leaders he really favored the tactics of the powerful but almost childishly right-wing William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester *Union-Leader,* the only newspaper with state-wide circulation and indeed the only paper read in most rural areas.

Loeb's newspapers are a striking study in personal journalism. He came to Manchester a few years ago from Vermont, where he owns a similar paper, bought the stodgily conservative *Union-Leader* from the family of former Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, and at once converted it into a vehicle for a kind of front-page editorial journalism reminiscent of Hearst's youth. He is hated not only by all the "respectable" and liberal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minded Republicans in the state but by most of the Taft forces as well, who feel that the violence of his attacks on Eisenhower helped to defeat Taft, just as similar attacks on Senator Tobey defeated Loeb's candidate, Powell, by a thousand votes two years ago.

Loeb is national chairman of Alfred Kohlberg's American China Policy Association, and has had a hand in many China Lobby activities. McCarthy and MacArthur are among his heroes; McCarthy was the guest of honor at a recent Loeb banquet, and Loeb, like many a New Hampshire conservative, would almost certainly prefer MacArthur to Taft if the General became available. Truman, Acheson, Tobey, and "the dirty, stinking Yalta crowd" in the State Department are frequent targets for his invective; but lately his best barbs have been reserved for Eisenhower. "International Bankers Up to Old Tricks; the Eisenhower Plot Unfolds," began a recent story, spread across the entire front page, on the theme that the same "Wall Street international bankers" and utility magnates who chose Willkie and Dewey are behind Eisenhower. A more personal attack on the General followed the next day: Eisenhower "doesn't understand" the Communist conspiracy; "he pulled back American troops in Germany to let the Russians advance."

Through most of the campaign Loeb's front-page signed editorials attacking Governor Adams and Eisenhower alternated with front-page ads attacking Loeb inserted by Adams. The resulting confusing and strident mélange alienated many voters but lent credence to the betrayal-in-government thesis which is the chief stock in trade of the Taft-McCarthy forces. The frightening thing is not so much that Taft lost as that a large number of voters in city and town alike consciously chose him as the more conservative candidate, as they had chosen Powell over Tobey in 1950. It is a campaign myth that only "professional politicians" preferred Taft; almost half the state's Republicans honestly voted to end the New Deal foreign and domestic policies they have refused to accept for twenty years.

The New Hampshire primary was conclusively a victory for Kefauver over Truman; it was less conclusively a defeat for Taft, and the Eisenhower forces are well aware of this. Undoubtedly all the groups in both parties, including the now thoroughly repudiated but still hyper-ambitious Harold Stassen, will take the primary seriously. One fact may be profitably noted: neither the nation's press nor many of the state's politicians had any really good idea what would happen in New Hampshire. Almost all the prophets were wrong, and this should be kept in mind in analyzing their future predictions.

Wisconsin Previewed

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Ashland, Wisconsin

IN A junket through Wisconsin, with stops in Madison, Eau Claire, Menominie, Beloit, Superior, River Falls, Appleton (Joe McCarthy's home town), and Ashland, I have found most people pretty thoroughly convinced that the Republican nomination will be decided in the Wisconsin primary on April 1. Wisconsin voters have not forgotten that Wendell Willkie made the big gamble here in 1944 and lost—after his loyal floor leader in the 1940 convention, Harold Stassen, entered the fight against him at the last moment.

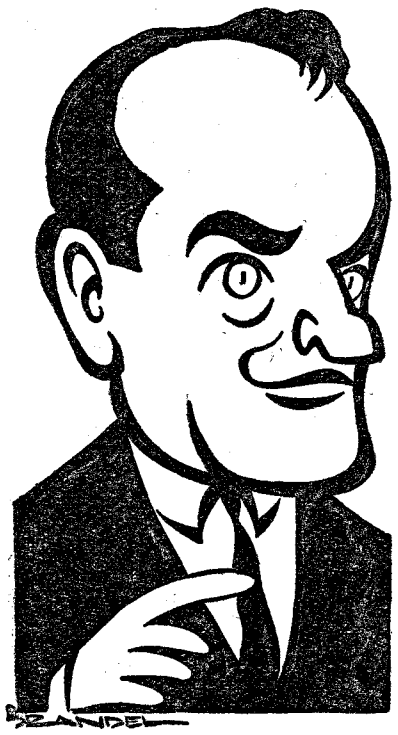
In the battle shaping up many feints have been made, promising a real April Fool's primary. The situation is complicated by a tricky primary law which provides that candidates cannot be entered unless they "affirmatively assent." This provision made it impossible to enter Eisenhower, since the General could not give his affirmative assent without violating army regulations. In consequence, the Eisenhower people tried to unite on a favorite son, such as Governor Walter Kohler, former Governor Oscar Rennebohm, or the veteran Republican leader Fred Zimmerman, but their efforts failed. Indeed, it looked as though Taft would be a shoo-in in Wisconsin until Governor Earl Warren entered the race.

Now that the deadline for filing has passed, the Republican contest appears to be a three-cornered Taft-Stassen-Warren affair in which there will be little debating but a lot of nasty in-fighting. Taft is the type that swings wild and usually misses but occasionally lands a haymaker; Stassen is the skilful boxer who keeps out of range; Warren is the slow mover who likes to wear down his opponents. With a big grin on his face Earl appears to be smothering his opponents with kindness when he is really cracking their ribs in a clinch.

Stassen's chances are least impressive. With the backing of Thomas E. Coleman, the state's most powerful Republican leader, Stassen managed to win twenty-seven of the thirty Republican delegates in 1948. But Coleman is now one of Taft's delegates and his manager here. Stassen's new slate is largely made up of nobodies; it contains only two of the delegates he lined up in 1948. Governor Walter Kohler was for Stassen in 1948; he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prefers Eisenhower today. Stassen had the Republican state organization in 1948; today nearly 80 per cent of the Republican county chairmen are for Taft. Not only does Taft have the organization, but the organization is much stronger than it was in 1948, for the Republicans have been repairing their machine. Stassen's campaign has been cleverly angled to pick up anti-Taft votes rather than to win support for a Stassen program, but with Warren in the race, Stassen is no longer the sole beneficiary of the anti-Taft sentiment. In retaliation Stassen has filed against Warren in California, where some fairly strong anti-Warren sentiment is to be found among diehard Republicans.



Senator McCarthy

The Warren contingent in Wisconsin is a coalition of frustrated pro-Eisenhower people, members of the former Progressive Party, independent Republicans, Dewey Republicans, and a few Warrenites. Philip La Follette has been its prime mover. The day I interviewed him in Madison he was completing last-minute arrangements for the meeting at which the Warren delegation was projected. The delegation includes such pro-Eisenhower leaders as State Senator Bernhard Gettelman; General Ralph M. Immell, Adjutant General under La Follette and candidate for the Republican nomination for governor in 1948; and Fred Zimmerman, Secretary of State since 1938, a former governor, and one of the state's most popular political figures. It also includes Republicans who supported Governor Dewey in the last three campaigns. Carl Rix, former president of the American Bar Association, selected the Dewey Republicans and serves as chairman of the delegation. The bait used to get all these elements together was Phil La Follette's assurance that "should Warren fail to get the convention nomination, the elected Wisconsin delegates pledged to him would shift to General Eisenhower." Unable to agree on a favorite son, these elements could agree on Warren. None were for Stassen. Warren, therefore, seems the most likely compromise candidate among anti-Taft elements at the convention if Eisenhower fails to win the nomination. The Warren delegation is supported by the Madison *Capital-Times*.

Phil La Follette's pro-Warren activity has aroused much conflicting comment in Wisconsin. Many Democrats believe that he is out to split the anti-Taft vote. He served, of course, on General MacArthur's staff in World War II and led a slate of MacArthur delegates in 1948. He has said that his personal affection and esteem for MacArthur are unchanged. Before organizing the Warren delegation he had expressed a preference for a Taft-MacArthur slate. The key to the La Follette riddle may be that there is little sentiment for MacArthur in Wisconsin, at least as a Presidential candidate.

The main question is whether the Warren candidacy will in fact split the opposition to Taft, thereby enabling Taft to register an impressive victory. My guess would be that Warren will split the anti-Taft vote with Stassen and will succeed in winning many independent, progressive, and Democratic votes. In Wisconsin's Presidential primary people do not need to declare their party affiliation and large numbers of Democrats traditionally vote for or against Republican candidates. For example, in 1948 the Republican candidates polled almost four times as many votes as the Democratic candidate; yet Truman carried the state in November by about 50,000. Whatever Phil La Follette's motives may be, most of the Warren delegates are genuinely anti-Taft. Warren denies that he is merely a stand-in for Eisenhower, but "Ike-Warren" and "Eisenhower Backers for Warren" clubs are being organized in many communities, with the emphasis more on Eisenhower than on Warren.

ACROSS every aspect of the Wisconsin primary falls the shadow of Joe McCarthy. To understand why, one needs some background facts.

After Senator Taft half-heartedly repudiated McCarthy in response to an editorial ultimatum in *Life*, McCarthy threatened to support Stassen in Wisconsin unless the repudiation were withdrawn. Taft promptly repudiated the repudiation, but McCarthy has not yet indorsed Taft. Returning from a recent speaking trip, McCarthy said that he found "unlimited" popularity for General MacArthur, "a lot of good solid support" for Senator Taft, and "a considerable amount of sentiment for Eisenhower and Stassen." It will be noted that Joe draws a wise political distinction between popularity, solid support, and sentiment. The order of the listing probably indicates his personal preferences.

Whatever the facts, the impression that a Taft-McCarthy alliance exists has strengthened Taft in Wisconsin. McCarthy is genuinely popular with the Republican organization. He gets far more invitations to speak than he can accept. When two young delegates to a Republican conference last summer tried to interpose objections to a resolution praising him, angry men rushed at them, women screamed, and according to Robert H. Fleming of the Milwaukee *Journal*, the meeting turned

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into an "emotional hippodrome" which Governor Kohler later characterized as "disgraceful." Joe is also a hero to the "little people." To the man in the street who admires his violent denunciations, he is a tough scrapper, a two-fisted fighter. I was amazed to find even anti-McCarthy people insisting, with a curious emotional involvement, that McCarthy is sincere.

The best evidence of McCarthy's strength is the fact that he was able to force Governor Kohler out of the Senatorial race. The few polls that had been taken indicated that Kohler could defeat McCarthy, but Kohler—well-bred and well-to-do—was apparently afraid to take on such a ruthless opponent. He was also discouraged by the failure of the Senate subcommittee to press the investigation of Senator Benton's charges against McCarthy and by the Loyalty Review Board's final disposition of the John Service case. Tom Coleman maintained all along that Kohler would not run against McCarthy. "When the chips are down," he was quoted as saying, "all the little blocks will fall into place." They seem to have fallen into place very nicely for Coleman, who is looking forward to winning in Wisconsin in November with a trio of Taft, Kohler, and McCarthy. Kohler apparently has reelection in the bag, and his name will head the Republican ticket.

Of the many strange details of McCarthy's career that need to be investigated none is more interesting than his remarkable friendship with Harold Stassen. Coleman handpicked McCarthy to oppose Senator Robert La Follette in 1946; up to this time McCarthy had been on his own politically. To help McCarthy, Coleman brought Stassen into the state to campaign for him. In 1948 McCarthy repaid part of the debt by serving as the number two delegate on Stassen's slate. The friendship seems to have continued. One of McCarthy's chief supporters in Wisconsin told me, for example, that Harold had given Joe a real assist by his testimony before the McCarran committee attacking Philip Jessup. In the current campaign Stassen has consistently refused to take issue with McCarthyism.

McCarthyism has another connection with the Wisconsin primary. Of the state's 3,500,000 residents about half are church members and half are not. The Roman Catholics are the largest single denomination, followed by the Lutherans, and then by the reform Protestant groups. McCarthy is not exactly a devout Catholic—as a judge he was known as a granter of "easy" divorces—but he enjoys powerful Catholic backing in Wisconsin, despite the hierarchy's recent statement condemning smear tactics. Catholic strength was one reason why Kohler hesitated to enter the Senatorial race. Everyone denies publicly that there is such a thing as a Catholic vote, but off the record the vote is discussed with great candor. Not all Catholics are for McCarthy by any means, but the politicians will tell you that enough of them are to make their support a major factor in his strength. McCarthy's tacit alliance with Taft is doubly important since it gives Taft strength where he is weakest—among voters of lower-middle-class or working-class origin. Incidentally, Tom Coleman is a Catholic.

It is by no means clear, however, that McCarthy will end up in the Taft camp. Lately he has said many kind things about MacArthur, but Joe is fickle. Back in 1948, when he was all-out for Stassen, McCarthy sent a personal letter to most of the registered voters of the state in which he pointed out that although MacArthur was a great general he was "ready for retirement," and besides, he was not really a "native son" of Wisconsin since "neither his first nor his second marriage, nor his divorce, took place in Wisconsin"—a statement clearly addressed to the Catholic and Lutheran objection to divorce. Many Wisconsin politicians think that McCarthy intends to play a hands-off game before the convention in the hope that he may be able to get the Republican vice-presidential nomination.

WISCONSIN Democrats have their own troubles. A Truman delegation was barred for the same reason as an Eisenhower delegation—that its candidate would have been forced to indicate his acceptance. Governor Adlai Stevenson could not be entered since he is running for reelection as Governor of Illinois. Fearing that some maverick delegation might be chosen—say, a Kefauver delegation—which would thus obtain control of the party's state apparatus, the Democratic Organizing Committee formed a pool, or panel, of delegates from all districts, listed in the order of the total vote they had received at regional party meetings. It then induced Kefauver to accept a slate chosen from this pool of reliable party members. Another delegation chosen from the same pool is pledged to Jerome Fox of Chilton, as a favorite son, but it is really a Truman delegation. The state's conservative Democrats are annoyed by this effort to retain control of the party apparatus and have entered a delegation of their own. I was impressed by the quality of the Democratic Organizing Committee, which seems to have completed the task of organizing a Democratic Party in Wisconsin begun in 1942. Most of the leaders I met were young, energetic, intelligent liberals. The state chairman of the committee, James E. Doyle, who happens to be Phil La Follette's law partner, can point to a steady increase in the state-wide Democratic vote since 1946.

Whomever the Democrats select in the state primary in September to oppose McCarthy—it now looks as if Henry Reuss of Milwaukee would be the man—Joe should have a real fight on his hands. In any case McCarthy is the key to the Wisconsin situation, both in the primary and in the general election. If a successful coalition cannot be formed in Wisconsin against

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Taft, it may be impossible to prevent his nomination. If Taft is nominated, the Republicans will have embraced McCarthyism, and they may even be saddled with Joe as the vice-presidential candidate. On the other hand, either Eisenhower or Warren, if nominated, would be under enormous pressure to repudiate McCarthy, and this could be an important factor in the Senate fight.

Taft, Stassen, and Warren are spending the last two weeks of this month campaigning in Wisconsin. The primary here should provide the first real test of sentiment in both parties.

The Tory Budget and British Labor

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

FIRST impressions of the British budget, based on the rather scrappy stories in the New York press, were fairly favorable. Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler's proposals, it appeared, would not present an easy target for criticism by a Labor opposition that was committed to support of the government's rearmament program and could not deny the urgency of further measures to restore Britain's balance-of-payments position. True, Labor could be expected to protest strongly against the cut in food subsidies from $1,148,000,000 to $700,000,000—a move calculated to raise prices of almost all basic foods and to add some 21 cents per head per week to the cost of housekeeping.

However, while taking away with one hand, Mr. Butler appeared to be giving generously with the other. Changes in income-tax rates and exemptions were to remove two million wage-earners from the tax rolls and to reduce substantially payments for all in the lower brackets. To prevent hardships children's allowances—paid for each child after the first—were to be raised from 70 cents a week to $1.12, and old-age and veterans' pensions were to be increased. Social services, apart from the recently announced minor modifications in the national-health system, were not to be axed. And the chief new burden imposed was a new excess-profits tax absorbing, together with other corporation levies, up to 73 per cent of profits. Altogether it seemed a moderately tough but reasonably equitable budget.

Second impressions, after reading the text of the Chancellor's speech and the broadcast commentary on it of his predecessor, Hugh Gaitskell, were definitely less favorable. Careful analysis of his proposals suggests, indeed, that they are both inadequate and unjust. They are inadequate because they do not provide for a reduction in total purchasing power commensurate with the anticipated shrinkage in Britain's supply of consumer goods; they are unjust because they redistribute burdens in a way that will put heavier loads on weaker shoulders.

With regard to the second point it appears that those hurt most by increased food prices will gain least by the supposed offsets. For instance, as Mr. Gaitskell pointed out, while all subject to tax before the budget will save something, the gain is smallest at the lowest level and then steadily increases up to the $5,600 bracket—a considerable income in Britain. At the other end of the scale are those whose income is already too small to pay tax. A married man with three children now pays no tax if his earnings are below $33.60 a week—above the average wage. His wife will in future get 84 cents more in children's allowances, but her food bill will be almost $1 higher. Moreover, according to Mr. Gaitskell, most of the two million who will no longer pay an income tax will in fact save less in tax than they have to pay in increased prices. In addition, they must expect an increase in national-insurance contributions, and higher prices for clothes and other articles owing to a revision of the purchase tax which will apparently advance the rate on low-priced goods and decrease it on the higher-priced.

Mr. Butler's chief claim for his income-tax changes is that they will increase incentives. The man who earns overtime pay or gets a production bonus will now find less of his additional income withheld for taxes and may be encouraged to increase his productivity. This is true, but probably only a minority of British workers are in a position to augment their pay by these means, and to many now working part time this talk of incentives will be a bitter joke. Moreover, the increase in output which may be achieved—and Mr. Butler does not seem to be counting on much of a total increase—may be offset by labor troubles arising from demands for higher wages.

Now let us consider the budget in relation to Britain's number one problem, its foreign-trade deficit. Last year, despite a modest increase in exports, this deficit reached $1,444,000,000, which compared with a surplus of $666,000,000 in 1950. The chief cause of this striking deterioration in Britain's balance of payments was the expansion of imports by $3,080,000,000, largely owing to higher prices; the result, aggravated by a decline in export earnings of other sterling countries, was the rapid depletion of gold and dollar reserves, which by the end of last month were only $1,770,000,000, representing a loss of $2,000,000,000 since June 30 last.

Unless this hemorrhage is checked quickly, the sterling bloc, which depends on the central reserves held by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britain, is likely to disintegrate, and Britain itself, forced to trade on a cash basis, will be unable to buy enough food to sustain its population or enough raw materials to keep its workers employed. Quite properly, therefore, the government is seeking to restore the balance by both inhibiting imports and stimulating exports. The effect on the British consumer of this shrinkage in foreign supplies is to be softened to some extent by running down stocks. On the other hand, the volume of domestically produced goods available for the home market is also being reduced by measures taken to swell exports.

If further inflation is to be avoided, this decline in home supplies ought to be matched by a commensurate fall in purchasing power, but Mr. Butler does not seem to have faced this necessity. What he takes away by reducing subsidies and increasing gasoline and other taxes is in fact rather more than outweighed by the increases in pensions and children's allowances and the tax reliefs. However, his final balance sheet shows an estimated surplus of $1,506,000,000, which he thinks will leave the public "only just about enough to pay for the goods that are likely to be available."

This is such a dubious assumption that I wonder if the Chancellor is not making a number of other assumptions that he prefers to keep to himself. Does he expect, perhaps, that some millions of low-income families will no longer be able to afford the whole of their meager rations, so that the total demand for food will decline? Or is he anticipating that the increase in the rediscount rate from 2½ to 4 per cent, which was the biggest surprise of the budget, will have a strongly deflationary effect on the economy? Dearer money, he told the Commons, will reinforce the direct controls imposed on home investment and so free more of the output of the capital-goods industries for export.

But increased credit restrictions and higher interest may also cause real distress in textile, furniture, and other consumer-goods industries that are already in trouble, causing bankruptcies and unemployment. That too may be intended, for the ending of what comfortable, conservative economists like to speak of as "overfull employment" would not only aid recruiting for the undermanned defense industries but serve to check demands for higher wages. Of course such a policy hardly conforms to Tory election pledges to maintain full employment, but with the Laborites squabbling among themselves the government may feel it can count on a fairly long respite before it must account to the electorate.

The Crisis in French Movies

BY MADELON BERNS

Paris

LAST Christmas the big Paris department store, the Louvre, made an arrangement with R. K. O. to show scenes from the Disney movie, "Alice in Wonderland," as part of its holiday display. R. K. O.'s advance publicity told the astonished French public: "Votre Père Noël, c'est Walt Disney."

That same Christmas week the once great French movie industry was winding up the worst year in its history. Its deficit was nearly six million dollars. The studios of Joinville, St. Maurice, and Francœur, where many of the finest French pictures had been made, had been closed down since fall. Six of the largest companies—Discina, Filmsonor, Gaumont, Pathé, Sirius, and U. G. C.—had announced they were "temporarily" ceasing production. Such well-known directors as Bresson, Carné, Cayette, Cocteau, and Grémillon had not made a single movie in 1951. At least half the workers in the industry were unemployed.

Producers who did manage to scrape together enough money to make a film often had to wait several months before they could get into the first-run houses, most of which were filled with American pictures. While "Alice," for instance, was drawing crowds in three of the largest Paris movie theaters, "Jeannot l'intrépide," the first full-length French animated cartoon, was shown in houses with only one-fortieth as much seating capacity. Nearly half the total movie receipts went to American films.

A complex train of events led up to this sorry state of affairs. It began in June, 1946, when Léon Blum, Foreign Minister of the new French Republic, signed the famous Blum-Byrnes accords in Washington. At that time the French film industry was facing the end of the false prosperity it had enjoyed during the Occupation when it had its home market all to itself and that market was an excellent one, with people flocking to the movies to get a little relaxation free from German surveillance. In order to reestablish itself, the industry required financial aid, including foreign loans, and equitable export-import agreements with other countries, especially the United States.

The accords Blum brought back with him did not provide any of these things. He had agreed that the United States could export films without limit to France but

MADELON BERNS was formerly on the staff of Fortune. *She is now a free-lance journalist in Paris.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had obtained no return guaranty that American distributors would lift their all but total embargo on French films. France wanted dollar credits for reconstruction. American movie interests wanted a bigger share of the French market. A good part of the industry saw the handwriting on the wall. Louis Jouvet warned: "The profound alteration which these accords will effect . . . strikes a death blow to our national integrity, our dramatic art, and our intellectual and cultural life."

It was soon apparent that Jouvet was right. From 1946 to 1948 France imported 1,500 American films and turned over to them a good 65 per cent of the total movie receipts. The situation was so bad that in September, 1948, after an all-industry committee had protested to the government, the Blum-Byrnes accords were revised. Only 121 American films a year would now be taken by France, which in return agreed to import no more than 65 films from all other countries. As additional help to producers, French exhibitors were required to show French films at least five weeks out of every thirteen, and a government Aid Fund was set up. The receipts from two new taxes, one on admissions and one on production, were to be returned to the industry in the form of a loan, the largest part of which was to be used to finance new films.

NONE of these measures struck at the root of the trouble, and their temporary beneficial effect was soon dissipated. The ten million dollars paid from the Aid Fund to producers has just about equaled the increase in their costs. Total receipts, however, have gone down, with the result that studios are today in a worse position than they were in 1946. American competition still makes it impossible for the French even to approach profitable production for the home market.

The more precarious the outlook becomes, the more bitter is the feeling against the American quota. While the law requires exhibitors to show French pictures about two-fifths of the time, French producers must fight the Americans against overwhelming odds for the remaining three-fifths. American companies have well-organized distributing agencies in France with much more money at their disposal than the French can dream of spending. Paramount, for example, spent more than $200,000 advertising the French dubbed-in version of "Samson and Delilah"; "L'Auberge rouge," one of the best French pictures of 1951, had some $8,000 budgeted for its publicity. The American companies, in actuality, pay for the exhibitor's advertising. In return, he not only shows the full number of American pictures allowed but usually extends himself, presenting them at preferred times, as on week ends and holidays.

The French cannot possibly recoup their losses at home by selling abroad. The United States, using the same dubbed-in pictures it distributes in France proper, is a formidable competitor in French colonial and French-speaking countries. Central Europe, which was one of the biggest pre-war markets, is permanently cut off. Although France has been able to increase its film exports to Italy, Western Europe is in general cool toward the idea of importing French pictures. How can it be otherwise when, under the French-American agreement, France is allowed to import only sixty-five non-American films? The United States also continues effectively to bar French films. In order to combat this embargo, the French movie industry would have to organize an elaborate distribution set-up in the United States, for which it has no money.

Even the home market, such as it is, is diminishing. In the past two years the number of moviegoers in France has dropped markedly. Since 1946 the price of admission has quadrupled. The average Frenchman, bedeviled by the rising cost of necessities, can no longer afford his traditional weekly evening at the movies. Moreover, even French movies are becoming too "Americanized" for his taste. The same taboos that are deplored in American films are beginning to creep into the French product. There is the same fear of presenting anything controversial, the same desire to please everybody and offend nobody. Producers, hoping to retain the small nugget of American sales that still remains to them, hesitate to make films that might be considered "sordid," "licentious," or "un-American." Claude Autant-Lara, brilliant director of "Devil and the Flesh," says: "We are making pallid, unreal films, pictures for children. Can you blame the French public if it stays at home and reads the Sunday scandal sheet?"

The French movie industry has of course other troubles besides these imposed restrictions. In the first place it is badly disorganized. There are only a few large companies. Most of the two hundred producers are small entrepreneurs who do not own their own studios. Usually they are in debt. Only a few have distributing organizations of their own. There is also a great deal of cheating on the part of the exhibitors, who have been accused of pocketing 30 per cent of the returns. But these are among the perennial troubles of the industry. They may have aggravated the present crisis; they did not cause it.

Last winter's shutdowns revealed clearly the precarious state of the industry today. The government's announcement that only 15 instead of 35 per cent of the tax on foreign receipts would be paid into the Aid Fund started a panic. Even the large companies stopped production, though some studios have now partially reopened. In consequence the government will delay its action until June and has meanwhile set up an investigating commission. In all probability some alleviating measures will be taken, but there is no hope that anything drastic will be done. The quota will not be cut any

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

farther—the Americans now depend on the foreign market to pay for many of their films and would put up too big a protest. The Aid Fund will be enlarged a little, and with this crumb of assistance the French cinema may be able to go on for a while longer.

The fact is that a "non-essential" industry like the movies cannot survive in the inflationary economy which prevails in France today. It cannot, on its own, fight against both dollar-buttressed competition and the high cost of living. The government, pressed as it is for funds, is completely unable to provide the necessary help. Instead, it sells out the French film industry for dollar credits—as Blum did in 1946—and taxes it as a luxury industry to get revenue to spend on war production.

The Problem: Guns and Butter Too

BY MARVER BERNSTEIN

IN THE past two years Americans have tried to become accustomed to a new set of alphabetical symbols designating the agencies carrying out the federal defense-mobilization program. Headed by the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Department of Defense, these agencies function in a hostile political and administrative environment which seriously hampers their effectiveness. Experienced Washington observers tend to view their difficulties with something approaching alarm. It may be useful, therefore, to recount the major factors determining the conditions in which economic mobilization must be worked out.

The federal government now has broad powers over the production of goods needed for the armed services, the allocation of scarce materials, prices and wages, the availability of credit for consumer purchases and industrial development, and labor-management relations. The basic statutory authority for the economic-mobilization program is the Defense Production Act, which was passed by Congress early in September, 1950, and amended in August, 1951. Although the Korean war had broken out in June, 1950, the administrative agencies created by the act did not in the main get their economic programs under way until 1951. The principal public controversies since then have been over price controls rather than over the control of materials and production, though price controls have imposed no substantial restrictions while production controls have caused marked deviations from industry's normal pattern.

Life today among the bureaucrats (I use the term in a friendly way) is dominated by uncertainties and delays. Most of these frustrations are the result of the failure of the Administration and the Department of Defense to make clear-cut decisions concerning the requirements for armaments, military "hardware," uniforms, food supplies for the services, and the like. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have struggled constantly to determine how many men and what weapons would be necessary to fight the Korean war and to prepare the country for possible attack, but they have not been able to state confidently, even for a brief period in the future, the magnitude and content of military requirements. In consequence the civilian defense agencies, generally speaking, have had no clear policies to guide them in defining the scope of production controls and no adequate data for measuring the probable inflationary impact of the defense program.

The program adopted, within the framework of the Defense Production Act, depends largely on the degree to which industrial production must be converted from civilian to military goods. In estimating requirements the armed services traditionally give little heed to economy. Most military planners assume that the proper objective is to fill all military supply lines with all the goods that could conceivably be needed. This might be called the insurance theory. Obviously it tends normally to overstate military needs and, more significantly, to assume that civilian needs are purely residual—to be met so far as the production situation permits after all military requirements are fulfilled. There is, of course, a fair measure of logic in this approach. However, in a period in which Presidential policy is to provide both guns and butter it is calculated to wreak havoc with what we wistfully call the normal peace-time economy. Recently Secretary of the Army Pace, who was formerly Director of the Budget and chief economizer of the federal government, has taken steps to make the army more economy-minded; the navy too reports that it is rating officers on cost-mindedness. Nevertheless, Congressional investigating committees continue to report incident after incident of extravagant waste and inept business practices in the armed forces, especially in procurement.

Another handicap of the mobilization agencies is the widespread feeling in Washington that the country's political leadership, both in the White House and on Capitol Hill, is inadequate as measured against the de-

MARVER BERNSTEIN, assistant professor of politics at Princeton University, was formerly a consultant with the Bureau of the Budget, working on administrative problems of economic stabilization.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fense emergency. One hears frequently that Truman has much greater administrative ability than Roosevelt had, but he lacks Roosevelt's inspirational qualities. Moreover the economic-mobilization program began to operate precisely in the period in which any President's prestige and influence normally are lowest, that is, in the last half of his second term. This is the period in which Congress becomes less and less willing to follow the President's lead. It is the period which usually finds Congress without capacity to focus attention on major issues of policy.

FROM an administrative point of view, the chief corollary of weak political leadership has been the lack of strong central direction for the economic-mobilization agencies and the reluctance of the planning agencies —the National Security Resources Board, the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the Munitions Board—to discharge their planning responsibilities. Before 1950 the National Security Resources Board had on paper a lot of plans which were to be put into operation at the outbreak of war. But these were plans for total war and total mobilization. As blueprints for partial economic mobilization they were less than satisfactory. Moreover, nobody seemed to know with what techniques the government could best control economic affairs in a period of limited mobilization. World War II experience was only partly relevant.

The absence of strong central coordination and direction of the entire program is immediately responsible for important operating defects. Economic mobilization is brought about through a number of complex and enormously difficult processes which depend upon their careful meshing for best results. The task of translating a set of figures on required military end items into raw materials flowing to designated defense plants producing according to a predetermined schedule involves a great many agencies. Even more agencies are needed to restrain inflationary forces, encourage the discovery of new sources of raw materials, improve the productive capacity of our European allies, control rents in areas where they have been skyrocketed by defense activities, and find jobs for workers unemployed as a result of the industrial dislocations occasioned by the defense program.

Given good-will on both sides, civilians and military personnel can work together well in specific situations, but too often the relationship is tense and acrimonious. One of the standard problems of defense mobilization is to keep civilian-military tension from becoming dangerous. The factors already discussed heighten this tension. In the absence of strong political leadership, effective administrative coordination, and firm military requirements, civil-military friction can wreck a program. Civilian and military officials, in this atmosphere, frequently become closely identified with a particular point of view, which at best is agency-wide rather than government-wide. We all know the fanatical devotion of marines and ex-marines to the Marine Corps. We are less familiar with the single-minded devotion of the bureaucrat to his agency's program, which may be wholly unrelated to other important needs of the government.

Economic mobilization, finally, functions in an ideological climate which exalts the productive process. The largest corporations naturally get the lion's share of procurement contracts. Companies are encouraged to expand their production facilities and supplies of materials by a bewildering variety of measures, such as rapid tax write-offs, guaranteed purchase contracts, long-term development contracts, and premium pricing. The bonanza of defense work is marred for the major producers only by the fear of building up "excess" productive capacity. The old bugaboo of surpluses is already being mentioned in business journals.

This is by no means an exhaustive catalogue of the factors which substantially affect the administration of the economic-mobilization program. Yet even this short list suggests that the political and administrative climate in Washington during an election year will become more rather than less unfavorable. In the meantime some 16,000 people in the Economic Stabilization Agency, about 400 in the Defense Production Administration, and scores of employees in other mobilization agencies formulate and administer price, production, and related controls with a chance, at best, of meeting only partially the objectives of the Defense Production Act.

On the assumption that controls will be required until American-Soviet relations are substantially eased,

Which Paper Do You Read?

IN ORDER to deceive the people of the world, U. S. imperialism deputized U. N. organizations to execute the Point Four plan with which U. S. monopoly capital attempts to enslave the people of the Orient, and used [Owen] Lattimore, who had some "liberal" tinge in the past, to head the mission. Such was the malicious intention of U. S. imperialism. Lattimore had in 1926 traveled from Sinkiang to India via Kashmir and had made detailed investigations of the border regions of China, India, and Afghanistan. His second visit has certainly just produced valuable results for the aggressive plans of U. S. imperialism. He rushed back to the U. S. at the end of March to answer charges made by a Senator that he was a Communist. As a matter of fact, Lattimore has all along been planning to establish a dominating position for U. S. influence in all Asia.—*Quoted in the January 11, 1951, issue of the* Chinese Press Survey, *Shanghai, from an article in a Chinese periodical by Chiang Tzo-yi of the Chinese Academy of Science.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we need to learn to live with economic mobilization. What can be done to make the program more effective and to insure that the broad implications of mobilization for defense will be democratic? First, civilians in Congress and the executive agencies must continually press the armed services for more detailed justification of their demands for strategic materials and armament. Second, mobilization officials must realize more clearly the impact of military preparedness on the American economy and the economies of the Western democracies. All possible steps must be taken to prevent economic prosperity from becoming heavily dependent on production for defense or war. Third, in our attempt to exercise effective economic control over production, prices, and wages, we should take advantage of our strengths and minimize our weaknesses. We should make better use of flexible monetary controls and lessen our reliance on direct price controls, which require scores of government offices and thousands of employees for their administration. By depending overwhelmingly on direct price controls in the present period, we run the risk of discrediting their application and undermining their usefulness when they may be desperately needed. And fourth, the price of industrial cooperation in the mobilization program must not be the uncritical acceptance by government officials of the views of the big-business community, or any other organized interest group, as the primary guide to public policy.

The Japanese "Insecurity" Treaty

BY HELEN MEARS

THE United States and Japan reached agreement last February 27 on administration of the security treaty which gives us the "right to dispose United States land, air, and sea forces in and about Japan," effective upon ratification of the peace treaty. These two documents—the peace and security treaties—represent the culmination of what bipartisan supporters term our "successful" Japanese policy. John Foster Dulles, chief architect of the treaty-making, has modestly called the peace treaty "an act in accordance with the fundamental moral principles of the great spiritual teachers and leaders of all nations and of all religions." Secretary Acheson, upon signing the security treaty, called it a "voluntary agreement between free peoples for the maintenance of peace and security."

When contrasted with the facts, such statements seem to cast doubt on our sincerity. To claim that the security treaty is a "voluntary agreement between free peoples" when one of the signers is an occupied nation and the other the occupier is to put a peculiar interpretation upon "voluntary" and "free." As a matter of fact, the Japanese were told from the first that they would get no peace treaty unless and until they ratified the security treaty. Not satisfied with warning the Japanese, our military also warned the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the peace treaty should not receive final ratification until the agreement on American post-treaty military rights in Japan was concluded. In short, we made no bones about it—no bases, no peace treaty.

The agreement signed in Tokyo last February 27 establishes these post-treaty military rights. What are they? Although at this writing details are not available, dispatches from Tokyo suggest that our military leaders have won their long fight to retain most of their occupation privileges in Japan. The New York *Times* has quoted State Minister Okazaki as telling the Japanese press:

> In principle United States garrison troops and their dependents will be tried by American military courts for whatever crimes wherever committed. However, in serious crimes Japan will be authorized to demand the surrender of such persons for trial in Japanese courts.... A joint Japanese-American commission will confer and establish precedents for each case encountered.

This means, in brief, reestablishment of the principle of extra-territoriality—the very principle which Asiatic peoples have resented most in Western policy for more than a century. We surrendered this policy in Japan quite early, in the 1890's. We surrendered it, albeit reluctantly, in China during World War II. Now, during a military occupation of Japan, we are reviving it to implement a treaty which we insist restores sovereign independence to Japan!

It is safe to predict that the security treaty will get us into serious trouble not only in Japan but elsewhere in Asia. In our preoccupation with the military aspects of our anti-Communist policy, we are neglecting political and psychological aspects which in the long run will prove decisive. We insist that the Soviet and Chinese Communists are wrong when they charge that we are turning Japan into a colony instead of a sovereign nation, or when they charge that our Japanese bases are intended for an attack on China rather than as a defense of

HELEN MEARS is the author of "Mirror for Americans—Japan" and of many articles on Japan in national magazines.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Japan. From the Japanese point of view, however, the security treaty seems admirably designed to encourage such misinterpretation.

Take the question of bases. Americans have been told—and most of us believe—that the Japanese *want* us to maintain bases in Japan to "deter aggression" by the Russians and Chinese. But are our bases really so welcome? Last October the *Oriental Economist*, conservative and pro-Western, printed the following exchange:

> *Commentator:* I guess the Americans are under the impression that most Japanese have a desire to be included [in the United States defense system].
>
> *Questioner:* Suppose, for argument's sake, we Japanese did not so desire, what would happen?
>
> *Commentator:* Even if we turned it down, America would stand pat on its demand. That's the important point.

Surely there is no hint here of a "voluntary" and "free" agreement. There is implication only of duress. The fact is that opposition to the security treaty in Japan has been persistent and widespread from the beginning, so widespread indeed that on the eve of the Diet debate on ratification the Diet sergeant-at-arms—according to the North American Newspaper Alliance reporter—added to his staff a group of jiujitsu experts in order to guard against "free-for-alls" in the legislative chamber. The Diet did in fact ratify both treaties, but only after what the American press termed "stormy" sessions.

John Foster Dulles

FROM Japan's point of view the security treaty offers the reverse of security. It does not even pledge the United States to defend Japan; it says merely that United States forces "may be utilized to contribute to the security of Japan against armed attack from without." One can hardly imagine anything more noncommittal. On the other hand, the treaty provides that our forces in Japan "may be utilized to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East." Practically this means that we may use our Japanese bases for pushing war farther north into Korea, or China, or anywhere else in the Far East. Thus Japan's participation in any military adventure involving the United States or the United Nations becomes automatic. We may contemplate this situation with great satisfaction, but the war-weary Japanese can hardly be expected to do so.

Nor, for all the occupation privileges it grants, is the security treaty an unmixed blessing to our occupation force and to the G. I.'s who are its backbone. The G. I.'s may be used, according to the treaty, "at the expressed request of the Japanese government, to put down large-scale internal riots and disturbances in Japan caused through instigation or intervention by an outside power or powers." This is clearly designed with Communist-inspired riots in mind. It presents a challenge which the Communists may be happy to meet. And what is to prevent the Japanese government from labeling every riot "Communist-inspired"—including riots inspired by hunger and unemployment? American soldiers might thus be thrust into mêlées in which the hands of the Japanese masses—Communist and non-Communist and anti-Communist—would all be turned against them. If the cementing of American-Japanese friendship is one of the objectives of our Japanese policy, certainly we are going about it the hard way.

Again from the point of view of the Japanese, we are not only offering insecurity rather than security but are demanding in return an insupportably high price. One of our first occupation moves was to supervise the writing of a new Japanese constitution which expressly provides that "the maintenance of land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potentials, will never be authorized." Today that policy has been completely reversed. The Japanese are required not only to pay for a growing army of their own but also to contribute to the support of American garrisons. Japan's military budget for 1952 is nearly one-sixth of what the four years and three months of its pre-Pearl Harbor war with China cost.

The political dangers of the policies inherent in the security treaty are clear. But the strategic dangers cannot be ignored. It is dangerous to assume that the Japanese are prepared to cooperate wholeheartedly with our anti-Communist policies. True, the Japanese historically fear Russia; they fear Russia today. But the Japanese know that their islands are not defensible; if war comes again, their tinder-like cities will again be pulverized and millions will starve. It is this which has induced in so many Japanese a fervent desire for neutrality in any new war.

A realistic look at the security treaty, within the frame of actual conditions in Japan, can lead only to the conclusion that it is our gravest political and strategic blunder since the end of the war. American policy-makers have been persuaded to place assumed strategic and military advantages ahead of ideological principles which, in the long run, will decide the contest of democracy against communism in Asia. And this time the errors cannot be charged against secret war agreements or alleged Communist traitors in the State Department.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Handbook on Communism

COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROPE. By Mario Einaudi, Jean-Marie Domenach, and Aldo Garosci. Cornell University Press. $3.

IN ITS serious tone, careful scholarship, and amazing compactness this collaborative study of Western European communism offers a welcome contrast to the emotional, imprecise, and diffuse writing on such topics that is currently the fashion nearly everywhere except in strictly academic circles. Here at last is a handbook on communism that can be read with profit by both the specialist and the general reader. The authors assume no knowledge on their readers' part; they explain every organizational unit or personality even at the risk of platitude. And they have wisely restricted themselves to the two great countries of the Western European continent—France and Italy—the only ones in which communism offers a real and continuing threat to a free society.

Their book is at once a history, a current analysis, and a proposal of remedial measures. This triple function gives it a somewhat uneven character. As history it is almost too brief. As a remedial program it is encouraging but not completely convincing. As analysis, however, it is nearly always admirable. The authors have grasped the essentials of Western European communism—its organizational solidity, the talent, self-dedication, and ruthlessness of its leaders, and its continuing appeal to populations starved for a political faith and profoundly skeptical of their rulers' interest in the well-being of the poorer part of the population. French or Italian communism, Mr. Domenach warns us, "cannot be assessed only as a 'party' organized for the political struggle, nor solely as a 'conspiracy' organized for the seizure of power; it is an immense machine, as complex as the state which it everywhere attacks. . . . It is a complete society which, in embryonic form, already exists inside the society it aims to replace." And he adds that we should not take too seriously the loss of membership and votes that, in France at least, has recently seemed to presage its decline. The hard core of militants—perhaps 15 per cent of its membership—is the real key to its strength; and this remains virtually untouched. "In order to direct the movement of the masses a party must first create the strong skeleton of a body which will take on flesh according to circumstances. When circumstances become critical, the body may be reduced to the skeleton, but the skeleton will not disintegrate."

Of the three authors Messrs. Garosci and Domenach are Europeans, and Mr. Einaudi is an American professor of Italian birth. This intimate connection with European society gives their analysis a depth and understanding—a sense of an experience personally or at least vicariously shared—that is usually lacking in American treatments of Communist themes. Such is particularly the case with the parts of the book written by the two Europeans—Mr. Domenach's section on the French party and Mr. Garosci's on the Italian.

This is not to say that Messrs. Garosci and Domenach are in any sense pro-Communist. The former is a well-known historian and a former leader of the ill-fated Party of Action that during the war years embodied the aspirations of the most intelligent and imaginative of non-Communist Italian anti-Fascists. He has seen the destruction of his hopes for a renovated, democratic Italy, and his knowledge that the Communist leaders bear a heavy responsibility for this disappointment gives his writing about them a tone of cold, quiet anger. These men he has fought and he obviously dislikes them profoundly. At the same time he understands the motivation of those who vote Communist because they see no other alternative to clericalism and reaction in an Italy in which the forces of the non-Communist left are divided and pitifully weak. He explains why it is that the Italian Communists have not suffered the same loss of voting strength as the French, and, along with their allies the left-wing Socialists, actually increased their vote between the parliamentary election of 1948 and the municipal elections of last May and June. Unfortunately, Mr. Garosci's section is too compressed to permit him to elaborate with much originality on these themes. We learn the basic facts about Italian communism—but not a great deal more.

Mr. Domenach's section, on the other hand, is both the longest and the most original in the book. Like his Italian co-author, Mr. Domenach is a veteran of the struggle against fascism: in the French Resistance he worked with Communists in a common cause; now, as editor of *Esprit*, the journal of the French Catholic left, he fights the Communists politically and ideologically while advocating some of the same social goals. Hence the tone he takes toward his late allies combines compassion with reproof. And in so doing he reminds us of a number of things that we have tended to forget in the enormous simplification of American attitudes that the past four or five years have witnessed. The great strikes of the autumn of 1947, he tells us, were not originally Communist in inspiration—as nearly all American publicists have assumed. Rather they were an independent outgrowth of the "wide disparity between wages and prices," which the Communists, now out of the government, decided to support and exploit in the interests of their campaign against the Marshall Plan. I am not quite sure that this is the whole story, but I am very glad to have Mr. Domenach's corrective entered on the record. Similarly, Mr. Domenach's characterization of Maurice Thorez as a Tito *manqué*—a man who, if he had remained in France during the war, might have made a reality of a "Western communism" independent of Soviet control—is the most arresting item in the whole book. It suggests—and here again the author corrects the simplifications of hindsight—that the hopes of those who looked for this sort of development between 1942 and 1947 were not totally illusions at the time. That they eventually proved such does

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not mean that a large body of Frenchmen did not at one time think and act in these terms and that a certain number do not do so still.

As opposed to the contributions of the two Europeans, Mr. Einaudi's section—a general introduction and analysis—has a tone of detachment and of optimism about reducing Communist strength that reflects the greater remoteness of an American university campus. At the same time this relative detachment enables Mr. Einaudi to see the potential weakness of the Communist position and to strip away its pretenses more rigorously than either of his collaborators. Western European communism, he asserts, far from being a movement for social progress, is necessarily attached to "feudalism, inefficiency, and obsolete economic policies." Essentially retrograde in character, it thrives in countries whose "social structure . . . has maintained rigidities and cleavages" that favor a class-warfare approach. Once such countries have been fully modernized, the appeal of pseudo-revolutionary Marxism will all but vanish. Hence it is no accident that the Communist leaders direct their heaviest assaults against the Marshall and Schuman plans: these truly revolutionary measures "are bound to bring about far-reaching social and political changes that will create the conditions under which communism will not be able to survive."

This is a bold and compelling argument. It is far more discerning than the usual amiable banalities of Marshall Plan propaganda. Yet it suffers from some of the same deficiencies. It fails to take into account the extent to which the pressing needs of rearmament have diverted the American program in Europe from its original social-welfare goals. More important, it ignores the whole element of psychological inertia—the nearly universal apathy, weariness, and frustration—antedating communism, deeper than it, and largely independent of economic conditions. Characteristically, it is Mr. Domenach rather than Mr. Einaudi who draws our attention to "that inarticulate despair that is the fundamental psychic element of the European crisis." So long as despair remains the basic European attitude, communism—and other essentially irrational doctrines—will maintain their appeal. For communism, like Gaullism, offers a *mystique*—and with it a refuge for sick souls. Has Western democracy a *mystique* to put in its place? H. STUART HUGHES

The Peacock Vein

THE GROVES OF ACADEME. By Mary McCarthy. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

THE experimental college is a subject for satire made to Mary McCarthy's hand. As a going institution of our society, it implicates a more public range of targets than the utopian colony of "The Oasis," and her dealings with it result in an extravaganza as diverting as Peacock.

For sheer comic bravura the poets' conference that fills the second half of the book is the show-piece. The method is a sort of verbal sonata form; theme, restatements and developments, coda. The lady poet who leads off the speakers takes Virgil as her subject: "A faint sigh rustled through the faculty. From the point of view of the student body, the choice was not a happy one. The majority of the students present had never heard of the person being alluded to as the Mantuan; they supposed he was a modern poet whom the faculty had not yet caught up with—a supposition correct in a sense, as Howard Furness, maliciously grinning, remarked in his slippery voice afterward."

The theme started, its potentialities unfold in an accelerando of double-edged ironies. For the students the situation is saved by the fact that one of them is doing a project on Hermann Broch and "The Death of Virgil." "Lise's major project, as the news of it spread around the room, evoked instant respect and attention; heads turned to nod at her approvingly, as though some member of her family had just been mentioned from the dais." Virgil too engages Dr. Muller, a pillar of the faculty who "like many historians, had certain regressive tendencies arising from the nature of his subject, which called forth a tolerance for the past, in the same way that some occupations, like sand-hogging, give rise to their own occupational diseases." Virgil, he feels, has much light to throw on "the phenomenon of imperialism in our time." Couldn't the poet's praise of Augustus in the Eclogues be considered an example of irony? Miss Mansell, who has been lecturing on problems of poetic style, catches only the word *irony* in his question and refers him to "somebody named Empson—if he caught the name rightly—and his treatment of the pastoral mode."

Finally, after this workout in the more esoteric keys, the theme broadens to its quantum of general reference as the dead-pan "normally" of the coda impales a whole phase of contemporary culture. The next speaker—a not unrecognizable elderly poet of the avant-garde who is "a bank president in private life"—takes Lucretius for his subject. "In the audience the President frowned; the faculty was uneasy. . . . Furness was recalling, with some disquiet, the old poet's bland question at the sherry party—'Is this the fabled college where everything is run backward?'—and the air of gentle disappointment with which he bore the news that no, indeed, it was not, that the

---

Startled, I Remember

Immensely the low sun
Paints all our city—shines
Prodigal on water towers;
Sweetens deep windows.

There it is, suddenly,
The soul of it: New York
Gold in the late day,
Dying and smiling.

Startled, I remember
Him that most loved this.
Where is he now, then?
Didn't I hear—

Oh, but the least—yes,
Certainly I felt it:
Mind and body turning, turning,
Trying to see.

Only as his would—
Once again, once again—
Oh, but he must sleep, though.
Let the night be.

Epitaph

Let this be true, that I have loved
All men and things both here and gone;
But most the men whose love surpassed
My love, and so lives on and on.

MARK VAN DOREN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

courses ran normally from the immediate past to the present."

For the rest, the Peacock vein is imbedded in a tissue of psychological comedy: an anatomy of "occupational diseases" of laborers in the progressive-academic vineyard, "nice, high-minded, scrupulous people," with a sense of "vicarious outrage—the vocational endowment of all educators," and a "nervous habit of self-correction, always emending, penciling, erasing." By fabricating an issue of academic freedom the paranoiac Mulcahy of the not nice and unscrupulous minority provides the "case" for a web of decisions and revisions that leave him firing the high-minded President who started by firing him. The specialized little world that comes credibly to life within the framework of this plot is a microcosm of general cultural trends; it would be hard to think of any facet of its possibilities for comedy that "The Groves of Academe" does not light up.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Introduction to Vedanta

VEDANTA FOR MODERN MAN. Edited, and with an Introduction, by Christopher Isherwood. Harper and Brothers. $5.

VEDANTA, a body of teachings derived from the ancient Vedas and from later classics, is the nearest thing to a Bible that modern Indians possess. Unlike the Christian or Jewish Bible, however, it is constantly receiving fresh additions, on the principle that divine inspiration never ends. As a philosophy Vedanta forms the common basis of all the well-known Indian religions, including Buddhism and Jainism. As a system of religious thought, it has crossed continents, its influence having been acknowledged by such thinkers as Goethe, Schopenhauer, Emerson, Bernard Shaw, Carl Jung, and Albert Schweitzer. Mr. Isherwood calls Vedanta a "non-dualistic philosophy," in the sense that *spirit* alone is real, everything else being *Maya,* that is, appearance or illusion. Spirit, or Brahman, is the Vedantic God and is regarded as the ultimate reality. In this world of Maya a man leads only a shadow life of pretending. His real life does not begin until his divine essence, his Atman, has coalesced with Brahman.

To make Vedanta intelligible to the West, Mr. Isherwood presents an anthology of sixty-one essays and poems by thirty-six teachers or lovers of Vedanta, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Aldous Huxley, Gerald Heard, Rabindra Nath Tagore, John van Druten, and Hubert Benoit. In this meeting of East and West, the contributors discuss such topics as the Godward purpose of life, the discipline of Yoga, the bearing of Vedanta on daily affairs, and why, in the words of Mr. Huxley, "Time must have a stop." We are also given glimpses of Sri Ramakrishna, a Bengali saint (1833-1886), whom Romain Rolland and many noted Indians revere as a spiritual leader of the rank of Jesus and Buddha. Finally we learn that a number of Vedanta centers, for study and not for proselyting, have been established in the West—there are two in New York—under the direction of Swamis sent by the Ramakrishna Order of India. Clearly, the Vedanta *Weltanschauung* has formidable support.

It was probably the collapse of scientific materialism—a philosophy which helped to plunge us into the current series of world wars—that gave Vedanta its chance in the West. The materialists, who claimed that there was no such thing as mind, dominated Western culture from the time of Darwin and Karl Marx until the other day, when Jeans, de Broglie, Schrödinger, and other super-physicists proved that there was no such thing as matter. The shock of this discovery sent our cultured professional classes reeling. Bernard Shaw's "Too True to Be Good" dramatizes the event in the tragedy of the disillusioned atheist who, having learned of Einstein and nuclear fission, sees his solid, soulless, machine-like world dissolve into the mysteries of relativity and the quantum theory. In a word, the downfall of materialism left our cultured people gyrating in a spiritual vacuum. And nothing was more certain than that this vacuum would be filled by some religious belief up to date enough to treat science and religion as two necessary, compatible, and reinforcing sides of the intellectual movement of humanity. Among the religious philosophies that have tried to fill the void are the Butler-Bergson-Shaw version of evolution, which comes from Europe, and Western Vedanta, which comes from Asia.

What are the most striking features of Vedanta? To begin with, it has no canonical Bible. Its scriptures consist of a continuous body of inspired literature that extends from the old Vedic hymns of 3,000 years ago to Aldous Huxley's "Indian Philosophy of Peace" and Radhakrishnan's "Religion and the World Crisis," written the other day for the present book. There is no dominant founder, like Mohammed or Buddha, whom everyone must worship. Vedanta has temples without priests, counsels of perfection without dogmas, and a spiritual discipline without rites. Its one altar is the soul of man. Though Vedantists believe that a reunion with Brahman, through a strict training of the body-mind, is man's chief end and glory, they do not claim to be a Chosen People or to possess the one and only valid faith. Thus a newcomer is not required to disavow the gods, saints, or heroes that have been dear to him. He will not be asked to give up Christ for the sake of Krishna. On the contrary, he is expected to consider Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus as teachers no less trustworthy than Shankara or Rama-

FACTS ON FILE

The Only Indexed Reference to All the News in Weekly Digest Form

THE FASTEST WAY TO FIND ANY NEWS FACT, PAST OR PRESENT

- Gives you the facts—nothing but the facts—without slant or bias . . . facts about everything and everybody of importance in every major news field. Gives you instant reference to any news subject, past or present, through unique cumulative index.
- Every week you get the FACTS ON FILE News Digest . . . 1,000,000 words condensed to 10,000—100 hours of reading reduced to 30-35 minutes!
- And, week by week, FOF grows into a fully indexed encyclopedia of world events—a compact, indispensable reference file. Widely used in libraries, business, embassies, editorial offices, radio stations—by informed individuals in business, professional life, government service, etc.

SPECIAL TRIAL OFFER

3 months of FACTS ON FILE Weekly News Digest with Index Service for only $6.00 (regular yearly rate is $55.00). Return this ad with $6.00—or we will bill you later if you prefer.

FACTS ON FILE, Inc.
Dept. 1-3
516 Fifth Avenue, New York 36, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

krishna. Obviously the Vedantists, with their doctrine of the Atman, have a mystical element that brings them close to the Quakers, with their belief in the inner light, and to the creative evolutionists, with their faith in an instinctive drive toward perfection. But what makes Vedanta unique is its emphasis on special mystical practices and also the fact that these practices—mastered aforetime by such Western seers as Pythagoras, Plotinus, and Meister Eckhart—are taught not merely to an esoteric group or to an intellectual élite but to anyone willing and able to undergo the intense Yoga discipline.

Mr. Isherwood has produced an anthology all of which is worth reading and some of which is in the highest degree inspiring. The book provides a first-class introduction to the Vedanta conception of Life and God.

FELIX GRENDON

A New Language

TOWARD A GENERAL THEORY OF HUMAN JUDGMENT. By Justus Buchler. Columbia University Press. $2.75.

THE central idea of this book is formulated in terms of the neologism "proception." This word is intended to suggest the "moving union" in the human individual "of seeking and receiving, of forward propulsion and patient absorption." By intention it represents the "interplay" and the "unitary" (why unitary?) direction of the individual's activities and faculties. Apart from his "proceptions," "he" is not an individual but a succession of spasms or kinks in the ether. In terms of this conception Professor Buchler develops a theory of "human judgment" deployed in its several basic dimensions of "communication," "compulsion," "convention," "perspective," and "validation." The point about "proception," evidently, is that it is intended to bring the sensory, conceptual, and motivational variables of human personality into a single system of interrelationships which leaves out nothing save prime matter. Buchler seeks first inclusion and then articulation—a favorite word. His is a philosophy of "transcendence," but only in the sense that it seeks to go beyond the traditional bifurcations and reductions implicit in such terms as "mental" and "behavioral." Yet it remains devoutly naturalistic and conceives the human organism as the joint function of its physical and social environments.

It is not surprising that Buchler finds previous frameworks for interpreting judgment inadequate. Unlike older "spectator" theories of mind, his analysis stresses the "funded" interpretations of an interacting, socially oriented individual. But unlike the more recent pragmatic theories, his doctrine admits of felt immediacies (Dewey called them "havings") and givens. The sheer brutality of things—including in one sense interpretation and communication themselves—ineluctably forces itself upon the individual's attention. In relation to this aspect of his world the individual is perforce observer, sufferer, or patient. But he is also a manipulator, a doer, above all, a judge. And in this dimension he molds and interprets the world in his own image. From this point of view, things become products, facts classified data, and nature a subject matter for—"proception."

How far Buchler's development of his root idea accomplishes a basic reorganization of our conceptual patterns for the understanding of symbolism, communication, and method is perhaps a moot question. Since each of us brings to the reading of any book his own funded experience, it is inevitable, as the author himself would probably insist, that readers of this work will disagree as to its fertility and its suggestiveness for new interpretations of the phenomena of which it treats. In any case it needs to be supplemented by more exact and more detailed analyses of the complexities of human discourse. Lacking them, some readers who have already carried the analysis of some particular dimension of human judgment beyond the point to which Buchler's study takes us, will doubtless find it alternately vague and elementary. I found it in part a none too clear restatement of views I seemed already to know. But in part I also found, as in the discussion of conventions, a certain freshness of approach or as in the discussion of validation, a prod to further thinking.

Apart from his basic term Buchler generally manages to avoid jargon—perhaps the besetting vice of contemporary American philosophy. But he has a way of extending the sense or use of words beyond their ordinary meanings and roles, and so in a way he has perhaps inadvertently invented a new language of interpretation in the process of analyzing and explicating an old one. This is always a hazardous business. Sometimes new words function as catalysts simply because they are free from the stock associations by means of which all words tend to enslave our minds. "Proception" is not a lovely word; but it may force us out of our conceptual ruts. Words are often telescoped theories; old ones often little more than counters by means of which we reenact ingrained prejudices. How much prejudice and how little understanding is concealed, for example, in the little word "race"! Placed in new contexts or invested with new twists of meaning, old words may sometimes do the trick of making us think, and all the more effectively because they force us to see the familiar in a new light.

But there is also the risk. For we may think we have a new idea when all we really have is an old word used in an unusual way. We may spend time on redefinition which would be better spent in the assimilation of new facts or in genuine analysis of terms which we habitually employ without full comprehension of their meaning. A new way with old words can all too often trick us into supposing we have made an advance in thought, when what we have done is to say queerly something quite obvious. Take the word "articulation," for example. In its ordinary uses it means to utter distinctly, to express clearly or systematically, to divide into words and syllables. But in Buchler's account, by what I can only call a process of association or suggestion, it undergoes a series of sea changes which cause us to suppose we are really learning something when nothing is going on but verbal play with a familiar term. Thus "criticism is articulation, and articulation is realization." In every instance of social communication there is "an implicit mutual demand . . . for proceptive articulation in the form of products, overt manifestations of proception." "Articulation is the manipulation (and the implied proceptive deliverance) of products as ends in themselves. . . ." There may be something in all this—but it is said in such an odd way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This accounts, I think, for the sense of "novelty"—or strain—one experiences in reading Buchler's book. In another context this sort of thing might, of course, be an exciting venture. But in the context of what is, or should be, an explanation and elucidation of human judgment it is often merely misleading. Even more important, it results in a discourse which is less precise than it needs to be. And this is inevitable, since it forces us to break loose from our old linguistic moorings without providing a seaworthy raft on which we can be sure to keep our minds afloat.

HENRY DAVID AIKEN

Old Masters in Color

ART TREASURES OF THE LOUVRE. Text Translated and Adapted from the French by René Huyghe. Commentary by Mme René Huyghe, with a Short History of the Louvre by Milton Fox. Abrams. $10.

THE publishers of the Library of Great Painters here inaugurate a new series entitled the Library of Great Museums. Except for the monograph on El Greco, whose color is extremely "modern" and therefore more than usually susceptible of reproduction, this series represents an important effort to extend the facilities of color reproduction to the domain of the old masters. One cannot avoid the conclusion that, superior as many of these plates are to other reproductions of the same pictures, the old masters are still reluctant to yield up their secrets to color filters. Those of them who employed gold backgrounds can rest assured that modern glossy paper can record no echo of their splendors. The Madonna labeled Cimabue basks in the roseate glow of a sort of Turner sunset, while Giotto's St. Francis is ecstatic before a background somewhere between the color of straw and a French omelette. In general, the plates are keyed too dark and too hot. Too many bodies and faces seem lit by a roaring fire, and Daumier's Crispin has already turned to the color of a boiled lobster.

Most of the later painters come off very adequately, especially Rousseau le Douanier, whose terrifying fable of war is expressed in flat tonal areas and sharp value contrasts. Among the older painters, Zurbaran, who also employs abrupt contrasts of dark and light, is well transposed. A real tour de force is the Fragonard "Bathers," the juicy confections of which must have presented formidable difficulties for reproduction.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Verse Chronicle

THE latest book in the admirable Muses' Library series (Harvard University Press; this number priced at $2.10) contains the poems of Sir Walter Ralegh (*sic*, without the *i;* the history books, it seems, have been spelling the name wrong this long time). The format, as usual with this series, is not only handy but nice, and the needs of the student are met in such a way as not to confuse or put off the lazier general reader. The editor of this particular volume is Agnes M. C. Latham, whose introductory essay, careful and excellent throughout, lifts into moments of moving brilliance.

The North Sea poems of Heinrich Heine, here translated by Vernon Watkins (New Directions, $3), were written by a young man in a rather exalted state, a mood, pro tem, of emancipation, ecstatic rather than depressed by the riddle of life. In looser and larger meters than the wrier characteristic Heine, they nevertheless have their moments of concision, sharpness of observation, and immediate sensual perception amid the romantic yearnings and swoonings. Such is their looseness of form, so free are they from tight idiomatic effects, that the translator has his work more than half done for him before he starts; Mr. Watkins, himself an easy-going mellifluous poet with no great hold or bite, has enough sympathy with this kind of rhythm and enough respect for the concrete nouns and verbs not to let the tidal wave of adjectives and the adverbial froth and spume sweep him entirely away: the English version, on facing pages, is substantially just to the German.

Roger Fry has by no means done equivalent justice to Mallarmé in the twenty-nine out of sixty-four translations he has made from the latter's "Poésies," now published, in a rather jumbled book, by New Directions, price $2. This edition includes the Fry translations with their French originals, the other poems in the French only, an introduction and commentaries on the poems by Charles Mauron, an early introduction by Roger Fry, a publisher's note, an appendix: did I say jumbled? M. Mauron's introduction is excellent; his remarks on obscurity in general, and Mallarmé's peculiar kinds of obscurity in particular, are very much to the point. His commentaries, however, serve to confuse the average reader, meaning in this case me, or to lead him up the garden of literary scholarship. One feels that the time would be better spent reading the original French two or three times extra. If Mr. Fry has not translated Mallarmé as well as Mr. Watkins has Heine, it must be said, of course, that the task was enormously more difficult. I am sure that Mr. Fry's interest, understanding, and devotion went much

NO LUCK FINDING A PUBLISHER?

We are established book publishers whose basic policy is to encourage new or unknown writers. If you are looking for a publisher of your novel, short stories, play, scholarly work, poetry, etc., perhaps we can help you. Write today to Natalie Miller for Free Booklet 103.
VANTAGE PRESS, 230 W. 41 St., New York 18

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R
to keep abreast of the times — READ
NEWS
a fortnightly searchlight on world events. In English only.
24 issues a year. Airmail sub. rate: $2.00
Latest Soviet Records and Handicrafts
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-52
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

KNOW the AMAZING LEGAL LOW-DOWN
on
Christian Science
Read
LEGAL ASPECTS OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
It answers such questions:
Is being a Christian Scientist grounds for divorce?
Can Christian Scientists recover damages for personal injuries and mental suffering?
Are Christian Scientists disqualified as jurors?
Is the death of infant children caused by Christian Scientists through medical neglect the crime of manslaughter?
Is the practice of Christian Science a menace and danger to the public health?
MAIL $1.00 TO
THE WALDAIN PRESS
P. O. Box 97, Chicago 90, Illinois

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deeper into Mallarmé than Watkins's possibly could with the Heine North Sea poems, but in rendering the poems into English he makes the most ghastly elementary mistakes. Surely no good writer could ever have said, in any language, the equivalent of "and my lamp which natheless my agony knows," or "whose ecstasy pure lies in painting the end." *Natheless* and also *whilst*, forsooth! I suspect there are other misprints than the one (p. 51) which renders the first line of a sonnet sestet meaningless: "For Vice, having gnawed by nobleness inborn" *("Car le Vice, rongeant ma native noblesse").*

I suppose every reader of *The Nation* realizes that Roger Fry was by no means the inept idiot that these brief excerpts make him appear; if the paragraph above seems an abuse to his memory, I should like to make amends by quoting M. Mauron: "He was so sociable that he could never enjoy anything without at once feeling the need to share it with those around him. Therein lay, I think, the secret of that equilibrium which to the last prevented him from growing old: the correction of fastidiousness by generosity, and of generosity by fastidiousness."

"A man," observes M. Mauron, "may be said to be characterized by his obsessions." It is with these that Theodore Roethke deals in his third book, "Praise to the End" (Doubleday, $3). The title strikes me as unhappy, in a kind of guarded way, suggesting both a kind of finality which Mr. Roethke would be the last to advertise and a cheery facile optimism he would be the first to deny. The poems here continue, as well as repeat, the themes of "The Lost Son"; what we are offered here is a sequence. With many a writer who affects to plumb the depths of his own unconscious, one feels that after he has dived into the bathysphere, he is only too apt to emerge with nothing but the bathetic —or the banal—and that if he comes up with something rich and strange, or only grotesque, one cannot feel sure but that he has planted his deep-sea bucket in advance with a few specimens of starfish and sea urchins, not to mention an old boot or two, just to make it look better. Mr. Roethke is more convincing; he has established, and this is a matter of technique as surely as feats of prosody, avenues of communication to his own unconsciousness. Poetry made from this relation is bound to be difficult, obscure, intensely personal; the question will always be whether the poet can reach the reader as he has reached himself. One idfficulty (stet!—too perfect a keyboard-slip to lose) which the terminology of the unconscious offers, its censorship, its disguise through vagueness, Mr. Roethke has calculatedly removed; his metaphors and images, his very rhythms, have the direct impact of a fullback hitting the line on third down with two yards to go. The danger here is that the rhythms themselves will seem a little obsessed, and they are also astonishingly easy to imitate—I warn Mr. Roethke right now that within five years he is going to be flattered to loathing; samples have already begun to catch my notice.

The *charge*, to use Mr. Roethke's own term, is the most important thing, to whose interest some effects of subtlety must be sacrificed. But mark that subtlety is a relative term and be prepared to make some structural adaptations; an end-stopped line, for instance, may not sound to you, *en plein air*, exactly the same as it does to the poet coming up from full fathom five. Adept at breathing, so to speak, through his gills, Mr. Roethke seems to me a little less sure of himself when it is time to use his lungs; his Jubilates, if no less original, do seem less experienced than his Misereres —which, by the way, differ from most in having some humor in them. Still, it is asking a good deal of a poet to face and report the horrors of the fire and the slime-pit and in the next breath to think he did see all heaven before him and the great God himself. After all, this is a continuing sequence; give him time.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION ☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

The NATION ☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ 1 Year $7 ☐ 2 Years $12 ☐ 3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

3/22/52

Books in Brief

ALEXANDER POPE. By Bonamy Dobrée. Philosophical Library. $3. Most of us were told for examination purposes that Alexander Pope was a malicious monkey who turned Pegasus into a rocking horse. That estimate of both his character and his poetry has been undergoing steady revision for some years now, and the present charmingly written little book of 120 pages gives a compact summary of the results of the best modern scholarship. Mr. Dobrée, who frankly bases his conclusions on the work of various scholars, especially on that of George Sherburn, is concerned chiefly with Pope's character and draws an essentially sympathetic portrait without falling into the partisanship of Edith Sitwell's somewhat

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fanatical defense. Recommended to any reader who wants to be brought up to date pleasantly and briefly.

THE ILIAD OF HOMER. Translated, with an Introduction, by Richmond Lattimore. Chicago University Press. $4.50. Translations of the Iliad continue to pour from the presses, this being the third or fourth, or so it seems, within the last few minutes. Professor Lattimore's version, while less spectacular than his recent presentation of Pindar, is workmanlike and competent; his introduction is both painstaking and intelligent, and his prosody is cleanly handled.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

REVIVALS tend to induce in everyone connected with them an attitude toward the play in question similar to that of a fond parent—an attitude at once patronizing and indulgent, apologetic and proud. I find the atmosphere this attitude creates extremely irritating because it makes for self-consciousness all around and particularly in the actors, and because it implies a demand that the play and the performance be judged not on their merits but on the basis of quite extraneous considerations.

Many a revival of Shakespeare and other old masters has been corroded by the atmosphere I have described; it hangs thick over ANTA's revival of Clifford Odets's "Golden Boy" (ANTA Theater). Its effects, I could not help thinking, were reflected in the two reviews I read. Brooks Atkinson of the *Times* succumbed completely to its moist warmth and basked in it as in a steam bath. To him, all was wonderful. Walter B. Kerr of the *Herald Tribune* did not succumb, but he obviously felt guilty and his dissent was apologetic.

"Golden Boy" is not a very good play. It is skilfully constructed, but its plot is patently contrived. It has passages that are well conceived and freshly written; it is also ridden with the most ordinary kind of fancy writing and with clichés of the socially conscious thirties. Like most clichés these contain a modicum of truth but not enough to transform them into eternal verities, and they are only intermittently appropriate to the characters who propound them. It follows that some of the characterizations are authentic and some are not.

The characterization of the Golden Boy is defective on another score. His development is stated rather than demonstrated. In the beginning his passion for music, admittedly hard to portray, is not made manifest; his later passion to make money is not very convincing either, but rather taken for granted, since it is documented mainly by a brief scene which shows him lusting after big cars speeding by; finally, we are told that he has disintegrated, but the process has not been depicted.

John Garfield's performance of the part is better than the writing, but he cannot make up what it leaves out. Lee J. Cobb as the old Italian father is more than adequate in a set part that requires little acting. The parts of Tom Moody, the prize-fight manager, and of the Golden Boy's brother-in-law, Siggie, are well acted by Art Smith and Michael Lewin; likewise the very minor but amusing bit of the "ham" prize-fighter. These parts are also well written. For the rest, the characterizations are uneven, and I thought the acting remarkably bad. In one case at least the revival psychology was clearly responsible. The gangster originally was meant to be taken seriously, or so I presume. In this production he is played for laughs as if he were a period piece—which in the context of the play makes no sense whatever.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE recently formed Artur Schnabel Memorial Committee announces that one of its immediate projects is the reissue, in cooperation with RCA Victor, of all Schnabel recordings on LP. I take this to mean the recordings of Mozart concertos and Schubert piano works and the earliest recordings of Beethoven concertos previously issued here by Victor; but I hope it means also the ones not issued by Victor: the recent European recordings of, among other things, Beethoven's Concerto No. 4 and Mozart's Rondo K.511, with some of the most beautiful playing of Schnabel's career; the pre-war recording of Schubert's posthumous Sonata in B flat; and of course the Beethoven Sonata Society recordings—above all the ones of Opus 109 and Opus 111, which have not, like the others in the series, been available on HMV records, though his performances of these two works were among his outstanding achievements, and the performance of Opus 111 perhaps the most remarkable and memorable of all.

It was the more remarkable for being flawed in the way Schnabel's performances often were—by unprecise,

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMICS
March issue from Moscow. Only English issue. Expected soon. Material on: economic relations, international trade, exchange problems.
Mail order copy 60¢
IMPORTED PUB. & PROD. N.
22 East 17th Street New York City 3

STRENUOUS EFFORTS BEING MADE TO SUPPRESS THE BOOK
SUPERIOR MEN
Written for the 3% of those who can reason. 97% of the people are easily misled, ACTUALLY HYPNOTIZED and exploited by promoters of religious doctrines. "Superior Men," like Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" and Bob Ingersoll's works, presents in easily read words the MODERN evidence proving that religions are based on primitive superstitions—not on science. If you are one of the 3%, your intellectual horizons will be exhilaratingly expanded. If you are one of the 97% you will be terribly shocked! Book stores do not handle this book. You are advised to get a copy while you can. 192 pp., card cover, pocket size. Order direct from the author.
SUPERIOR MEN
By James Hervey Johnson
$1.00 postpaid
Box 2832, San Diego 12, Calif.

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*
Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.
Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

confused execution of difficult passage-work, by excessive and distorting intensity. One hears nothing of that kind in the performance of Opus 111 by Solomon just issued on an RCA Victor LP—nothing but unfailing and amazing perfection in the execution of passage-work, the shaping of phrase. But one also hears in Solomon's performance nothing of the tension from one note to the next that was the distinctive feature of Schnabel's playing and the secret of its power—the tension, at once cohesive and expansive, which produced the propulsive continuity, the cumulative force of the wonderful progression in the second movement from the hushed mystery of Variation 4 to the superearthly illumination of the end. And so the progression has no such continuity and force in Solomon's perfect performance.

One of the year's worst LP couplings gives us this Opus 111 not with another of Beethoven's last sonatas, but with the "Pathétique." And of the two works, both transferred to LP from recent HMV 78's, it is the "Pathétique" that is excellently reproduced, and Opus 111 that comes off the record with thin, shallow sound and terrific surface and background noise.

Another bad Victor LP coupling gives us Mozart's Sonata K.576 and Scriabin's Sonata No. 4 for piano. The Mozart is a fine work, with some of his most developed and complex writing for the instrument; William Schatzkammer's performance of it is fluent and in good taste, though also without the tension that I spoke of a moment ago, and that I have heard impart more exciting life to Mozart's music.

Bach's great Passacaglia for organ is, for the first time, not only effectively played by Helmut Walcha but clearly reproduced by a Decca record which also offers his performance of the uninteresting Pastorale in F.

Five of Mahler's last songs, to poems of Rückert, contrast strikingly, in their somber mood and matured idiom, with the four songs from the early "Lieder aus der Jugendzeit" and the "Es sungen drei Engel" originally written as a movement of the Third Symphony. The early ones are sung engagingly, on the Vanguard record, by Anny Felbermayer, soprano, the late ones with vocal magnificence and expressive power by Alfred Poell, baritone; and there is fine playing by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska, which Vanguard again reproduces with a beauty of sound that I haven't heard from other recordings of this orchestra.

The folksong-like substance of Janacek's Sinfonietta is quite engaging in the third and fourth movements, and the fifth builds up an impressive conclusion with its unusual number of brass instruments. The performance by the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Leipzig under Vaclav Neumann is reproduced with harsh distortion in the climaxes. On the same Urania record the charming Rossini-Respighi "Rossiniana" is played with insufficient animation and grace by the Berlin State Opera Orchestra under Hans Steinkopf; and the recorded sound of loud passages is gritty and harsh.

Period has issued a Russian recording of Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1 which makes the tone of the great violinist Oistrakh gritty and ear-lacerating, the sound of the orchestra distant and dim; and as it approaches the center of the record the conclusion of the work is enveloped in a hash of distortion. Most of the record is taken up by Miaskovsky's Violin Concerto.

Not very interesting to my ears were Mozart's Piano Concerto K.451, well played by Jeannette Haien with the National Gallery Orchestra under Bales (WCFM); Haydn's Symphony No. 22 and Concerto in F for violin and harpsichord, both stolidly performed by the London Baroque Ensemble under Karl Haas with Jean Pougnet, violinist, and Lionel Salter, harpsichordist (Decca). And things to skip are the seventeen-year-old Strauss's Violin Concerto and eighty-year-old Strauss's Oboe Concerto, excellently played by Siegfried Borries, violinist, and Erich Ertel, oboist, and the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin under Artur Rother (Urania); also the Vladimir Rosing performances of Musorgsky songs reissued on LP by Decca.

Films

MANNY FARBER

"MY SON JOHN," the story of a traitor out of Anytown, U. S. A., goes across the screen dodging its point with all the deftness of a suspense yarn. The point was to show you the heart of a home-grown Communist as well as his day-to-day scurryings in the red network, but all you get is generalized bombast in his folks' idealized democratic household and familiar tear-jerking situations. Plotwise, a bright shy boy goes into government work and, reversing "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," becomes a top Soviet spy. Back home for a rare visit, he mentions a speech he is to make to the graduating class of his old Alma Mater, and the content of that speech gets him into a dozen angry arguments on communism with his folks, who are charter members of the church and the Legion, and inspire each other with lingo from the gridiron ("Take the ball, John!"). An amiable FBI agent keeps poking around the neighborhood, and pretty soon the mother discovers the truth about her favorite son, leading to tear-duct scenes as she teeters on the edge of insanity

—30% Less than List on LP Records—
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-43
Box 175, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) 48 HOUR SHIPMENT

AUTHENTIC CHOPIN'S ("Urtext") editions in handy pocket scores
BEETHOVEN'S 2 Piano Sonatas, 25 Preludes, and Fantasy; Violin Sonatas, 2 vols. Cello Sonatas, 1 vol.
98¢ each—FREE Catalog
At dealers, or direct from
LEA POCKET SCORES DEPT. W, BOX 138 New York 32, N. Y.

GERTRUDE LAWRENCE
in A New Musical Play
The King and I
with YUL BRYNNER
DOROTHY SARNOFF · DORETTA MORROW
ST. JAMES THEATRE, West 44th St.
Evenings at 8:25: $7.20 to 1.80. Matinees Wednesday & Saturday at 2:25: $4.20 to 1.80.

Pulitzer Prize & Critics' Award Musical Play
MARTHA WRIGHT
GEORGE BRITTON
IN
South Pacific
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC THEATRE, West 44th St.
Eves: at 8:30: $6.00 to 1.20. Wed. Mat. at 2:30: $3.60 to 1.20. Sat. Mat. $4.20 to 1.20.
MONDAY EVES. ONLY: CURTAIN AT 7 SHARP

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and soul-stirring shots of the son's face as he begins to see the democratic light (in one silent stretch, shadows play over the face, changing it back and forth from Judas Iscariot's to Abe Lincoln's). The rest is mechanical fireworks: the flight from his co-spies, his bullet-ridden car spinning up the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, and the tape-recorded recantation of the dead ex-Communist played back to the empty faces of the sweet, innocent graduates.

With Helen Hayes, the late Robert Walker, and director Leo McCarey—the latter a social philosopher who makes platitudes boom like the truth—heavily involved in "My Son John," no one is going to fall asleep for want of effervescent dramatics. McCarey tries to stop United States youth from falling for the party line with the same formula he used in the past to get the kids off the street and into church—that is, tears, faith, and solid red-blooded Americanism. It is done with such earnestness as to be slow-moving, but the actors are masters of intricate timing and intonation and have the easy spontaneity and control to put across a story that is mostly talk in parlor, bedroom, and bath. Walker, with his unhealthy face and blunt sincerity, plays the traitor in a way that makes you marvel at how much this craggy, solemn-toned actor learned about his business and the people outside it in the last few years of his life. He was, I think, the first great actor to turn up in decades of films, one who reminds me only of silent geniuses like Conrad Veidt, Keaton, or an awkward, sour, dissipated version of Barthelmess. Helen Hayes plays the manic mother with all the eccentric wallop of Eleanora Duse doing a Krafft-Ebing rewrite of "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch." With Frank McHugh making you feel happy that he is back in films and McCarey working powerfully in the new style of close-ups, disembodied faces, and immobilized groupings, the movie is worth seeing, if only to dig Hollywood's latest political orientation.

Two Works of Art that reek with social therapy and old-fashioned technique—everything from grainy photography to sentimental curlicues—are in the neighborhood, occupying the bottom half of double bills. The quaint adolescent study called "The Big Night" is so slow, murkily lit, and incoherently involved with the meek pantomime of John Barrymore, Jr., that it might make more sense if the reels were run backward. However, "On Dangerous Ground" almost achieves a success in spite of itself. In the first place, it has to worry over the old chestnut about reform of the incorrigible by sweetness and trust—personified this time by a blind, tottering Ida Lupino who inspires cop Robert Ryan to mend his brutal ways. In the second place, it is tied to the idea that anything that moves makes a good motion-picture. The movie is a treadmill of stumbling, fumbling, smooching, hurtling movement, and by the time it reaches the run-down of an adolescent murderer over half the snow-covered hills of northern California, the customer is as fed up with motion as the panting actors. But the story is told with a camera and a rather unorthodox one, though it is often late to the scene and not sure of what is about to happen. Some of the support—Ward Bond and Anthony Ross—is good, but the chief virtue of the film is the fascinating jumble of action that results when two awkward, determined characters (Bond and Ryan) try to outclaw each other at the job of detecting.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times" and "Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate."

MARK VAN DOREN is well known as both poet and critic.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR., is at work on a biography of Francis Parkman.

FELIX GRENDON, novelist and critic, is the author of "No Other Caesar."

HENRY DAVID AIKEN is a member of the Department of Philosophy of Harvard University.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department of Williams College.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES has recently published a verse translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

Are you interested in movies—seriously?

If so, you are eligible for membership in the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures

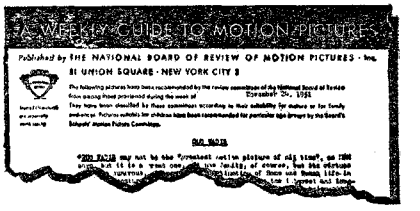
Be part of this independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1909 to promote the public understanding of movies as entertainment, as education, as art, as a factor in social progress.

Your dues entitle you to

Films In Review

the only U. S. monthly dealing authoritatively with every aspect of the motion picture.

Your dues also entitle you to



A Weekly Guide To Motion Pictures

which each week brings you intelligent, incorruptible reviews of the better films.

FREE: If you send this coupon with remittance before April 5 your subscription to FILMS IN REVIEW will begin with the special April "VALENTINO NUMBER" with 25 "stills" depicting his career. Also you will get your FREE copy of the GARBO NUMBER with 26 illustrations from Garbo films.

NATIONAL BOARD OF REVIEW N-22
31 Union Square West,
New York 3, N. Y.

I want to be a member and enclose $5.00 for one year's dues.

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City*_____ *Zone*___ *State*____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Malthus's Assumptions

Dear Sirs: Many of your readers will welcome, as I do, Professor de Castro's article The Malthusian Scarecrow, which appeared in your February 16 issue. Professor de Castro rightly points out that the Malthusian theory "survives the facts which contradict it because it can be used to rationalize various interests and situations." Out of his own special knowledge Professor de Castro has made a valuable contribution toward refuting Malthusian dogma with facts. This he has done well in discussing the relation between food supply and population and possible new sources of food.

I regret, however, that Professor de Castro found it necessary to use additional arguments which seem to be less well supported by facts. While it is true that economically backward populations tend to have a high birth rate, this does not mean that malnutrition is the cause of high fertility. I do not myself know the literature on starvation and estrogen content, but I would question that a direct correlation has been established between estrogen levels and fertility. Nor, despite Professor de Castro's claim, do his figures on the Japanese population increase from 1945 to 1949 prove his point that a low nutritional level causes overpopulation. The population of the United States grew about as fast as—or a little faster than—Japan's during the same period.

The explanation for poverty does not lie in the realm of social phenomena, just as the explanation for poverty does not lie in "overpopulation," but in the character of social institutions. Professor de Castro himself recognized this when he pointed out that "political and economic conditions placed a premium on large families" in the early United States. . . .

The important point to remember about Malthus is that his avowed aim was to combat the egalitarian movements of his day. . . . His theory "appeared at a time," says the "Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences," "when the upper classes, terrified by the French Revolution, found in it a much-needed justification for the existing order against the radical proposals of Godwin and Condorcet." . . . Malthus believed that the poor of his day would learn from his "population principle" ". . . that the principal and most permanent cause of poverty has little or no *direct* relation to forms of government or the unequal division of property." Neo-Malthusians have been disappointed when the poor refused to agree. . . . The day may not be too distant, when the people of "China and elsewhere," having overcome the social causes of their poverty, will have also starved out the neo-Malthusian form of genocide.

HARRY GRUNDFEST
Associate Professor of Neurology
New York at Columbia University

HELP CRIPPLED CHILDREN
1952
Crippled Children need YOUR help
Crippled children want to walk, talk and play like other children. They can if you help by giving to Easter Seals. Give generously—your dollars mean new lives for America's crippled children.
19th ANNUAL EASTER SEAL APPEAL
March 13 to April 13
THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN AND ADULTS, INC.
11 S. LASALLE STREET, CHICAGO 3, ILL.
THE EASTER SEAL AGENCY
CONTRIBUTED BY THE NATION AS A PUBLIC SERVICE

Fewer Gadgets, More Safety?

Dear Sirs: Leonard Engel's article Plane Facts, which appeared in your March 8 issue, oversimplifies the problem of improving airline safety. The article tends to give the impression that technical improvements in the airplanes themselves are all that is needed to make commercial aviation safe for those below as well as those aloft. While many recent accidents appear to have been due to technical failures, the over-all accident statistics indicate that bad weather is at least an equally important cause.

The airplane Mr. Engel suggests—namely, one with a large wing surface in proportion to its weight, low speed, and few "gadgets"—is exactly the airliner of the early years of commercial aviation, when the accident rate was far greater than it is today. The DC-3 has these characteristics to a considerable degree, but the figures do not show that commercial flying was any safer when it was used almost exclusively by the airlines of this country. . . .

Since each of the hundreds of instruments used in a modern plane is a safety feature, eliminating any of them, as Mr. Engel suggests, would be foolish until something better is developed.

Mr. Engel's suggestion of the "Ercoupe" as a prototype for large commercial airliners shows a lamentable lack of understanding of the relative requirements of commercial and private flying. The unique safety feature of the Ercoupe is the elimination of the inadvertent stall—a frequent cause of accidents in amateur flying but never encountered in airline operation. As for the Ercoupe being "the plane of the future," there is plenty of opinion to the contrary among pilots who have flown it, including myself.

That improvement in airline safety is desirable no one will deny. But it will not be obtained by returning to lower speeds and fewer instruments. Continued study and improvement of all phases of airline operation is the only practical answer.

C. FAYETTE TAYLOR
Cambridge, Mass.

[*The author of the preceding letter is an eminent aeronautical engineer, coauthor of "The Airplane and Its Engine," and "The Internal Combustion Engine." He is one of the editors of "International Tests in Mechanical Engineering" and a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.*]

Free Back Issues

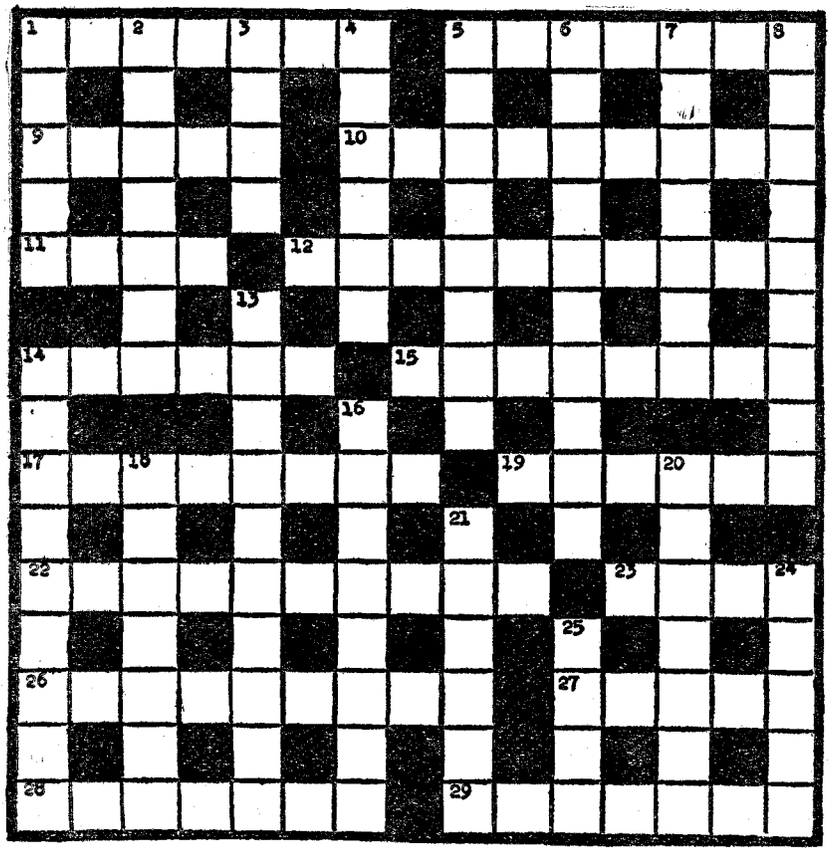
Dear Sirs: I have three or four years of back issues of *The Nation*. Anyone may have them who sends me sufficient postage to cover mailing.

RAYMOND ZAMBECK
Tewksbury, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 457

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 22.
5 Beat up, least of all this. (7)
9 Turn and annex, by the sound of it. (5)
10 Standard measure with pens, undoubtedly. (9)
11 A coward kills his love with one, according to Wilde. (4)
12 Are alms and an amphibian reputedly fireproof? (10)
14 Don't stand outside! (What a singular piece of apparel!) (4, 2)
15 Condemn weight by study, perhaps. (8)
17 The opposite of a fool's paradise? (You might find the compact in it.) (8)
19 One should have an attitude of prayer in matins. (6)
22, 23, 6 down, 1 across. Slight reason for madness on her part, no doubt! (4, 4, 2, 4, 4, 1, 5, 7)
23 See 22.
26 Shaky way of getting lemurs out of it. (9)
27 Want ice? We can't be around to see it cut up. (5)
28 Knives, for example, used in fighting smugglers? (7)
29 Ask for rent, in a way, and dine with it. (7)

DOWN

1 Uncover the ears, perhaps. (5)
2 The position of the Bishop? (7)
3 Done and undone, like a knot. (4)
4 Twisted braids? (You'd be no good in any case, if they do it to you.) (6)
5 Make Pat sober? Tests will! (8)
6 See 22.
7 The pit elevator might have to leave. (7)
8 Where do you find their names? Check back, or note at the bottom. (9)
13 Not heavy construction, but there's home work in keeping with it. (10)
14 Not a real tin scythe! (9)
16 They might carry a striking force. (Adobes have them.) (8)
18 Is the one with the most feet a trial about everything? (7)
20 He's got a title, perhaps, but sounds like he said he wouldn't run! (7)
21 See 25 down.
24 Spanish-German and eight, in the main? (5)
25 and 21. Equivalent to stop, look, and listen when no audition is required? (4, 3, 3)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 456

ACROSS:—1 PERIWINKLE; 6 SMUG; 10 ENTITLE; 11 SOUNDLY; 12 ERROR OF CLOSURE; 15 AVENUE; 16 LEGACY; 18 CROWBARS; 22 PRESUPPOSITION; 24 FLEANCE; 25 EVIDENT; 26 REST; 27 GRASS-GREEN.

DOWN:—1 PREFERABLE; 2 RETIRED; 3 WATER MOCCASINS; 4 NEEDFUL; 5 LASTLY; 7 MIDIRON; 8 and 14 GUYS AND DOLLS; 9 CURSIVE WRITING; 13 and 17 KENSINGTON GARDENS; 19 ROOTERS; 20 ABILENE; 21 APPEAR; 23 AFAR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

ROLLING HILL FARM
Rangeley, Maine
In addition to a rich program of camp activities, we offer children an environment free from tension where they can express themselves without fear of losing adult approval and affection. To this end we keep rules to a minimum necessary for health and safety. Camp site is a 250-acre farm with brook, pond, and woods. Limited to 16 boys & girls 6 to 12. July & August.
DUNLAP SIMS, 21 Prince Street, New York City 12
CA 6-7278 • AL 5-1857

Friedman's Hotel
Highland, N. Y. Tel. 6521
Cantor Jacob Rubin officiating
for "PASSVER" Two Sedars
Rooms with baths or showers
Outdoor activities
RESERVE NOW!

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

FOR RENT

LAKE MOHEGAN — Spacious 4-room apartment in beautiful home, splendid view, 4 acres of ground, private beach at Lake Mohegan. Phone: PE 6-4174 during week, or LAkeland 4744 weekends. B. Levine, Lexington Avenue near Crompond Road.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

HANDWRITING reveals character, aptitudes. Compatibility, personnel selection, or vocational service. Individual, general analysis $3.50. L. J. Chieco, 271 Burrows Street, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

PERSONALS

"Creeping socialism" in California! Follow its vigorous growth, read about its fight to get on the ballot, learn about its activities.
SOCIALIST ADVOCATE
What do California socialists think about Korea? Communism? Labor Unions? Truman? Find out by subscribing to this new socialist monthly. $1.00 per year.
Order from the
SOCIALIST PARTY
6025 Adeline, Oakland, Calif.

WOULD YOU like to meet someone who might like to meet you? Write for free copyrighted pamphlet. Address: Personal Introduction Service, 2112 Broadway, N. Y. 23.

exit loneliness
Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone, who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write or phone for further information.
20 VESEY ST., N. Y. 7 BA 7-1064

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of Vital Importance to Every

Parent and Teacher

SPECIAL INTERESTS with selfish motives are fighting today for control of the minds of youth. In a democracy, this is everybody's concern; and everybody should know the facts. They are presented in a pamphlet, THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS, made up of eight articles by able and fearless educators. These articles describe the serious crisis faced by our schools, show that the attacks on democratic public education are increasing to an alarming extent, and discuss other problems vital to teachers, parents, and school boards. Edited by Dr. Theodore Brameld, professor of educational philosophy at New York University, they appeared recently in *The Nation*. They include:

I. **FEVER SPOTS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION**
By Morris Mitchell, director of the Putney (Vermont) Graduate School of Teacher Education.

II. **TEACHERS AND THE "THING"**
By Goodwin Watson, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, author of "Action for Unity," and other books.

III. **BIG BUSINESS AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM**
By J. Austin Burkhart, teacher of political science at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri.

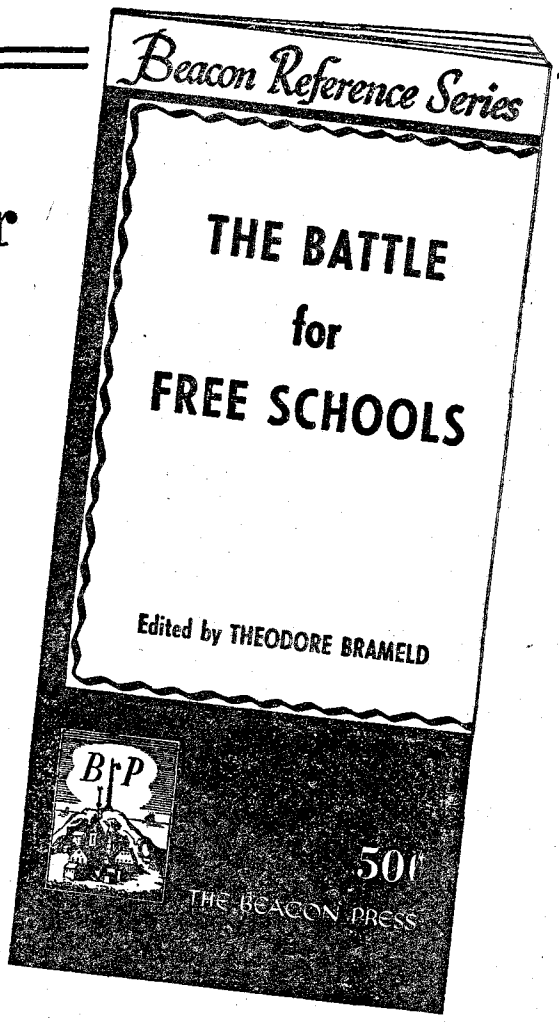
IV. **THE FOOT IN THE DOOR—ORGANIZED RELIGION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS**
By Jerome Nathanson, leader at the Ethical Culture Society, chairman of Federal Aid to Education, and author of "John Dewey: The Reconstruction of Democratic Life."

V. **MINORITIES IN EDUCATION**
By Horace Mann Bond, president of Lincoln University, and **Morton Puner,** former editor of *Reader's Scope*, free-lance writer now with the Anti-Defamation League.

VI. **MONEY, CHILDREN, AND EDUCATION**
By Frederick C. McLaughlin, author of the recently published book "Fiscal and Administrative Control of City School Systems."

VII. **DIRECTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS**
By Kenneth D. Benne, professor of education at the University of Illinois, president of the American Education Fellowship, author of "A Concept of Authority" and other books.

VIII. **A WORKING AGENDA FOR SCHOOLS OF THE PEOPLE**
By Theodore Brameld, editor of this series, author of "Patterns of Educational Philosophy" and other books.



The 80-page booklet is bound in a special cover, and measures 4"x8". Its single copy price of 50 cents is reduced to 30 cents if quantities of one hundred or more are ordered.

Single and Bulk Rates

Single copy	50¢
5–9 copies	45¢
10–24 copies	40¢
25–99 copies	35¢
100 copies and over	30¢

A limited edition is now being mailed. Here is a public issue that no informed citizen can afford to neglect if our free institutions are to survive. Please fill out and mail the convenient order form, with your remittance, without delay.

THE BEACON PRESS
25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts

Please send me postpaid _____ copies of "The Battle for Free Schools" for which I enclose my remittance of $_____.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

3/22/52

FILL OUT AND MAIL TODAY!

The Cumberland Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED